Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-014
Friday
21 January 1994

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FBIS-EEU-94-014 *21 January 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: DAILY REPORT volume no. 013 not published.

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Further on Bosnia Peace Talks in Geneva

Milosevic Speech Reported

LD1901174794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Geneva, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The Geneva peace conference has got its evolution and its continuity and cannot forever return to the beginning, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said in his address today to the participants of a plenary session devoted to negotiations in Bosnia.

The Serbian side has assumed a serious and responsible approach to the European Union [EU] demands because it deemed that the EU has defined its proposition in a serious and responsible way, Milosevic added.

He recalled that the EU demands were precisely set out: 33.3 percent of the territory for the Muslim republic, temporary UN administration of Sarajevo, EU administration of Mostar, and access to the Sava river for the Muslim republic.

The Serbian side came to Geneva to sign the peace plan because it has accepted the EU proposal, the Serbian president said, adding that a plan perfect to the smallest detail has never existed; the remaining issues can be successfully resolved in bilateral relations after the peace agreement has been reached.

Slobodan Milosevic added that he reasons along the lines of the logical view that acceptance of the EU proposal creates conditions for the peace plan to be signed and for ending the war. He stressed that the remaining critical points and alterations to the plan can be no one's reason for continuing the war and that a peace should be endorsed immediately, while any possible exchanges should be left to negotiations between the parties involved.

The Serbian president said that the international community has an obligation to explain to the Muslim side its attitude to its proposal in the event of the Muslim side refusing to sign a peace in the circumstances surrounding the acceptance of the EU proposals. At the same time the European Twelve ought—in keeping with their obligations—to lift the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people. The Serbian president said in conclusion that this is the international community's moral obligation.

Sources close to the negotiators say that the plenary session was held in a depressing atmosphere against the backdrop of mutual recriminations between the Muslim and Croatian delegations. The Muslim army side is reported to have tabled new territorial demands with the Croats.

The second plenary session is expected to begin this afternoon. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia have resumed their bilateral talks following the signing of their joint declaration. President Slobodan Milosevic and President of the Serbian Republic Radovan Karadzic have also talked to Co-chairmen Owen and Stoltenberg. Sources close to the Croatian delegation claim that Tudjman suggested to Bosnian Muslim Leader Izetbegovic that an arbitration commission be set up which would resolve territorial disputes between all three warring sides in the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has been unofficially learned that Lord Owen has proposed that the UN Security Council should set up a commission and that a cease-fire should be in effect while the commission is working. Sources close to the delegation of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina say that the Serbian side has rejected such a commission.

According to the latest indications, the current round of peace negotiations on Bosnia is expected to wrap up tonight.

'Vague' Peace Plan Cited

AU1901193694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Report by Mirza Hajric from Geneva]

[Text] Despite the great efforts by cochairmen Owen and Stoltenberg to make some progress, this evening's plenary session has failed. The reason is perfectly clear: After months and months of excuses and stalling for time, of yielding to aggression and genocide, the peace process has faced the very reason for its existence—the aspiration of the creator of Greater Serbia for the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There can be no progress in reaching a peace agreement until Serbian President Milosevic orders the withdrawal from the minimum of territory that used to be the majority Muslim regions. Karadzic, leader of the Serb extremists, reiterated again this evening that he would not give those territories back, while Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Presidency, stressed that there could be no peace without that.

Our delegation came under great pressure to sign a very vague peace plan. In fact, this is a trick by which the sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia would be lifted if an agreement was signed that would not guarantee us what we must have. The Bosnian state delegation, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said, cannot separate the organization of the state from the territory, since we are forced to speak of the minimum. In other words, the two create a whole, which we will not and cannot give up.

Even though there were meaningless calls for signing not only a cease-fire but a lasting peace as well, Owen himself rejected that, saying that we had had hundreds of cease-fire agreements and that there was no need to waste time on them any more until something is done on the maps. Owen had a proposal in which he presented 15 disputed towns. These are: Bosanska Krupa, Bosanski Novi, Brcko, Bugojno, Busovaca, Donji Vakuf, Kiseljak, Kresevo, Novi Travnik, Sanski Most, Ustikolina, Visegrad, Vitez, and Zvornik. The cochairman's proposal was

to reduce that number as much as possible so as to reduce the number of disputed issues if the international arbitration commission is formed, which is supposed to solve each problem on its own. It was also proposed for acceptance that the Bosnian republic has to have 33.33 percent of the present territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian republic 17.5 percent but not at the detriment of the Bosnian republic.

Even though no solution is visible from this position—although we keep talking about minor concessions on the side of the Serb extremists—cochairman Owen demanded that the peace conference continue until at least another round of bilateral talks between the Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation and the Serbian and the Croatian sides be held. The Bosnian state delegation is expecting the first meeting with the Serbs.

Jovanovic on Accord With Croatia

AU1901214294 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Excerpts] [Correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic] Negotiations about the future of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the conference in Geneva have been going on almost without a break since this morning. Everything began this morning with the plenary session attended by all the delegations present in Geneva and the co-chairmen. The discussion in practice concerned talks between the Serbs and Croats, that is, their highest representatives and the co-chairmen as representatives of the international community, with the Muslim representatives, whose positions remain an enigma, and who are trying—in one way or another—to avoid accepting what is envisaged by the European Union's plan for solving the Bosnia- Herzegovina crisis. [passage omitted]

During talks with the Muslims at the plenary session, all the issues pertaining to the European Union's peace plan were reviewed with the goal of determining the Muslims' position toward the proposals and a type of agreement reached between the Serbian and Croatian sides, which envisages the Muslims getting 33.3 percent of the territory for the Muslim republic in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. As I have already mentioned, we have unofficially learned that the discussion was somber, primarily burdened by the conflicts between the Muslims and the Croats. President Izetbegovic again presented new territorial demands, which—according to well- informed sources—primarily pertain to certain towns in eastern and western Bosnia. President Milosevic intervened in the course of the discussion, prompted by the positions of the Muslim side and the positions presented by the representatives of the international community.

He said that this peace conference had experienced evolution and continuity and that it could not keep reverting back to the beginning. The Serbian side, said Milosevic, has approached the demands of the European Union seriously and responsibly, because it presumed that the European Union had defined its proposal in the same way. The European Union's demands, embodied in the 33.3 percent of territory for the Muslim republic, a temporary UN protectorate for Sarajevo and Mostar, and the Muslim republic's access to the Sava River, have been fulfilled. The Serbian side, said Milosevic, had therefore accepted these demands. That is why, upon accepting the European Union's proposals, the Serbian side has come to Geneva this time to sign the peace plan. There can be no doubt, continued President Milosevic, that there can never be a perfect plan in all its details, but all the remaining issues can be successfully solved in mutual relations after establishing peace and in peace.

President Milosevic said that he held the logical view that, by accepting the European Union's proposals, the conditions have been established for signing the peace plan and ending the war. Namely, the remaining remarks and adjustments cannot be a reason for continuing the war for any of the sides. That is why peace has to be immediately signed, while possible disagreements should be left to the interested parties' negotiations in the continuation of the talks. If the Muslim side should refuse to sign for peace, said Milosevic, in circumstances when the European Union's proposals have been accepted, I believe that the international community is under an obligation to clarify its positions toward its proposal with the Muslim side, while it should approach the Serbian side—which has accepted its proposal—in accordance with its obligation to lift the sanctions against the FRY and the Serbian people. This is its moral obligation, concluded Serbian President Milosevic at today's plenary session at which the Muslims' new demands were discussed, despite the fact that the Serbs, and even the Croats, have more or less fulfilled everything that has been asked of them in order to achieve—in the European Union's view—a just peace and future mutual life in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Jevdjovic] What does this [agreement with Croatia] mean in practice? Does it mean that the Republic of Croatia is still not recognized, or at least not within the present borders, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders?

[FRY Foreign Minister Jovanovic] Certainly. This statement means neither recognition nor the establishment of diplomatic relations. Both issues call for a separate decision and the agreement of the two sides. As you can see from the contents [of the agreement signed today], this has not been achieved and this was not the objective. The objective was to establish communications embodied in permanent offices in Belgrade and Zagreb, which should facilitate mutual contacts and strengthen the orientation of the two sides [words indistinct] of peace and political solutions for the remaining controversial issues, which are not few, because their scope is considerable after the Yugoslav republics' secession from Yugoslavia [sentence as heard]. Therefore, there is no reason for any kind of speculation that this decision could mean prejudging any of the remaining political issues, least of all the issue of the Serbian Krajina, which

needs to be solved according to the Vance plan in direct negotiations between the legitimate representatives of the Serbian people living there and the Croatian Government.

[Jevdjovic] Does that mean that although the Croats have not as yet recognized Krajina, they have—by accepting this document—given up resolving the situation in the Krajina militarily?

[Jovanovic] This statement means that as well, although we need to wait and see whether this will be strictly implemented in practice. However, [words indistinct] a guarantee for such a development, it is certain that (?we have made) a significant positive step toward strengthening this option toward the peaceful resolution of this issue through political negotiations with the legitimate representatives of the Krajina. This remains in the domain of the Krajina's legitimate representatives, and no one else has been authorized to solve this, nor do they wish to do so. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Assesses Talks

LD1901225294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] [Announcer Nada Rajkovic] President of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic is on the line from Geneva. Good evening, let us hear your assessment of the course of negotiations today?

[Izetbegovic] Good evening, I wish you all the best. According to the information that I have, the city [of Sarajevo] seems to be somewhat peaceful today. I am glad to hear that, you need some rest from that shelling. We have had two very tempestuous days, two hard days. I could say that the talks here, the first round of talks ended in a draw, to use a chess expression. I am personally pleased with what we here today, I cannot say achieved, but I am pleased with the outcome of this round of talks.

We reiterated our demands for the return of territories, we said that we do not wish just any kind of peace, that we want a just peace. However, the Serb side was not ready to offer any concessions. There was a proposal to let a series of questions remain open and be handed over to an arbitration commission which would work on their resolution for one to two years. However, we did not accept that. The open questions referred to the issues of Visegrad, Zvornik, Rogatica, Brcko, Sanski Most, Bosanski Novi, and so on. We did not accept that.

We said that we could not allow these questions to remain open, they have to be resolved; otherwise the conference would be considered unsuccessful and would go back to the beginning, back to the UN Security Council. This was our stance, and consequently this proposal on the arbitration was rejected.

In order to salvage this peace process, the co-chairmen put forward a proposal that in the meantime the fronts should quieten down, hot-lines be introduced and talks be resumed on 10 February. We believe that the talks, the peace process, should not be extinguished. Its extinguishing would not be in the interest of Bosnia-Herzegovina and our people. We ought to continue with further negotiations.

Of course, we are not restricted in any sense, we are not going to accept a rotten compromise to the detriment of Bosnia- Herzegovina. This is approximately our stance.

[Mufid Memija, Sarajevo radio-television editor] How do you perceive the agreement between Serbia and Croatia in view of the general course of the Geneva negotiations?

[Izetbegovic] Serbia and Croatia had their own agreements parallel to these talks. They reportedly made some progress in this respect, they agreed on the opening of missions. Some tend to see this as the first step toward recognition. I, personally, do not see things that way, that is not what it was all about. I believe that mutual recognition is still a rather remote prospect.

However, regarding our own problem, I would like to say that some headway has been made. This might not only be a modest achievement, we will see later on. The Serb side agreed to UN administration of Sarajevo over the next two-year period—something it had persistently rejected or made conditional in the past. This was accepted unconditionally this time—we consider this to be progress. This is a point we scored in this competition. This is the best solution for Sarajevo at this moment. It would bring about the lifting of the blockade of Sarajevo, the removal of the [Serb] artillery and an end to the shelling, as well as to a certain kind of opening of the city. This would not be a real opening of the city, but it would certainly be a new situation that would enable us to find the best solution within this two-year period in conformity with the aspirations of Sarajevo's citizens. This was a result we scored in these talks.

[Rajkovic] But Mr. President, let us talk about the negotiations in global terms.

[Izetbegovic] Of course, as they would say in politics, and this applies to the negative aspects of the negotiating process, nothing has been agreed if everything has not been agreed [as heard]. Therefore, this is only one of many elements making up the mosaic of some future agreement. Such a solution would be acceptable if an agreement is signed. This was one of our demands, something we insisted on in order to avoid the division of the city and find a solution in a more normal kind of atmosphere and give maximum prominence to what the citizens of Sarajevo want for their city and its future.

[Rajkovic] We have learned that you were invited to visit Brussels tomorrow.

[Izetbegovic] I was invited not to the European Union headquarters but to visit the NATO headquarters. I will do this tomorrow on my return from here. Unfortunately NATO Secretary General Woerner has been admitted to

hospital. I will be received by his deputy, as Woerner is seriously ill. However, I will go there to hold talks in the NATO headquarters. I think it will be a useful visit even though I do not expect any (?major) results. This is something which could, as people say [words indistinct], to visit NATO and hold talks with officials in charge.

[Rajkovic] After that you are going to Malaysia where Bosnia will also be discussed.

[Izetbegovic] Yes, Malaysia has organized three parliamentary conferences on Bosnia-Herzegovina with international parliamentarians taking part. The intention was to make the cause of Bosnia-Herzegovina more popular, to make the world more interested in Bosnia-Herzegovina. One conference was held, as far as I remember, in Bonn, one in London and this one will take place in Malaysia. I was invited to be one of the speakers along with the Malaysian president at the two-day conference. I will probably stay there for one day. Maybe I will make a one-day visit to Indonesia and Brunei. Then I will return, in order to make my trip as short as possible. I think that this visit to Malaysia will be useful because it will be a chance to present the situation in Bosnia- Herzegovina in that part of the world in the presence of numerous parliamentarians from Europe, the United States, and of course from the Far East.

TANJUG Cites Milosevic Comments

LD1901230794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2143 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Geneva, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic stated this evening that the two days of negotiations have shown who is really in favor of peace and who in favor of continuing the war. He pointed at the importance of the normalization of Croatian-Yugoslav relations for stabilizing the situation in the Balkans.

"The basic characteristic of the latest round of negotiations is the fact that it has shown who is really in favor of peace and who in favor of continuing the war", Milosevic stressed in a press statement in Geneva this evening.

"Despite the media war against Serbia, which has been demonized and labeled an aggressor, it is completely clear now what has actually happened.

A few weeks ago, in this building (Palais des Nations), we had serious and, in my mind, responsible talks with 12 ministers of the European Union. On that occasion they presented their proposal on what was to be done to achieve peace. They put forward very difficult conditions—33.3 percent (of the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina) for the Muslim side, UN administration of Sarajevo, access to the river. This was, as you already know well, a complete set of conditions for peace. Sacrificing their own interests in the name of peace, the Serbs decided to fulfill them, they accepted them and came to Geneva to sign a peace agreement. What has happened? The Muslims have rejected it. Even after the cochairmen had given their additions to it, they rejected it. I am telling you that I know well why they have done so. The Muslims do not wish to stop their offensive in central Bosnia because they wish to overrun the Croats, raze Vitez, Busovaca, and Novi Travnik to the ground, conquer Mostar and force their way to the sea, through a completely Croat territory.

I hope that this round will show what is really happening and will help to create a more balanced picture of the events in our country and in Bosnia-Herzegovina in particular.

I believe that the conference will be resumed and I admit that I am an optimist. We will have peace despite those who are opposed to it, the Muslim leaders and those behind them who advise them wrongly," Serbian President Milosevic said.

Asked if war would break out after the collapse of the negotiations, Milosevic said: "I do not think so. The Serbs are the stronger side and they do not want the war and the resumption of clashes.

Asked if Croatia was in reality recognized within its present borders by the joint declaration, President Milosevic said: "Please understand that your question is linked to a problem existing between Krajina and Croatia. This problem can be solved only by negotiations between their legitimate representatives. As the Vance plan has been activated, it is clear that they should implement it mutually.

I reiterate my personal standpoint on a very important issue we are discussing now. I must say that all responsible Serb and Croat politicians must work on normalizing Serb-Croat relations. We will do our best to help the normalization of relations in general and in detail because it is the main factor of stability in the Balkans. Those who want the stability of their states and the Balkans will seriously work on the normalization of relations between the Serbs and the Croats and in the entire region," President Milosevic said in Geneva.

Karadzic: Talks Not 'Total Failure'

LD1901225794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2223 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Geneva, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, declared in Geneva this evening that, considering today's Serbian-Croatian agreement and the fact that the Bosnian Serbs and Croats decided to sign a lasting peace, the current round of negotiations is not a total failure.

After all that happened it is evident that the Muslims have opted for war, not for peace, Karadzic went on to say, stressing that the Serbs would exercise maximum restraint in responding to provocations.

Karadzic said he expected the launching of an all-out Muslim offensive, especially in central Bosnia. "If the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were lifted, the Muslims would sign the peace plan," Karadzic assessed, underlining that everything now depended on the international community.

Nikola Koljevic, Serb Republic vice president, recalled that the Muslims had been offered a truce and confidence-building measures which, as he said, they rejected.

Belgrade-Zagreb Accord Highlighted

LD2001150694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1339 GMT 20 Jan 94

[By diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas; "pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The agreements reached between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and Croatia and between the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats to begin normalizing the mutual relations have salvaged the Geneva peace process and made its resumption on February 10 possible, despite the fact that the Bosnian Muslims have done everything to undermine it, according to diplomatic circles in Belgrade.

Diplomatic circles in Belgrade set out on Thursday that the agreements signed between the F.R.Y. and Croatia and between the Serb Republic (RS) and Herceg-Bosna in Geneva on Wednesday will also facilitate the resolution of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to the same circles, it is extremely important that the agreements signed in Geneva proceed from the de facto situation which is practically becoming a de jure one. The RS and Herceg-Bosna, the states of the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, respectively, have signed the document on the normalization of relations although they have not internationally been recognized as sovereign states. At the same time, Croatia has signed a similar document with the F.R.Y. which is recognized as a state, although its right to continuity in relation to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is disputed.

It is believed in Belgrade that, by signing the document on the normalization of relations with the F.R.Y., Croatia has abandoned the option of war as a means of resolving its relations with the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

It is set out in Belgrade in that context that what is involved is only the beginning of a normalization process, which absolutely in no way delves into relations between Zagreb and the RSK and in no way prejudices the eventual solution. It is said that the mutual recognition between Belgrade and Zagreb and the establishment of diplomatic relations between them has most likely been left for the final stage of the process.

As far as the Bosnian Muslims are concerned, it is obvious that they have in a way been isolated in Bosnia-Herzegovina since Wednesday, since their hitherto strategy of insisting on the war option has totally been defeated.

It is beyond doubt that the Bosnian Muslims will no longer be able to use Serbs as an alleged excuse when they sit down at the negotiating table in Geneva again on February 10. RS President Radovan Karadzic was right when he said on the eve of the latest round of the Geneva talks that "nothing will any longer be the same" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ministers on FRY-Croatia Accord

LD2001165394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Podgorica, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—In connection with the signing of the joint statement on the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia in Geneva yesterday, Vladislav Jovanovic, federal minister for foreign affairs, said that the two sides agreed to resolve all problems by political means. "I hope that this means renouncing violent means, especially war, as a means of resolving disputed issues," Jovanovic said in today's interview with Montenegrin Radio.

The opening of an office in Belgrade and Zagreb means precisely that—not more and not less. This is not the establishing of diplomatic relations or the recognition of Croatia, Jovanovic stressed.

The problem of the Republic of Serb Krajina should be dealt with in line with the Vance-Owen plan, through direct talks with representatives of the Croatian Government. The Geneva agreement does not prejudice the solution for Krajina, the foreign minister said.

The minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Slobodan Jarcevic said during the same program that the RSK views the agreement between Jovanovic and [Croatian Foreign Minister Mate] Granic only as the normalization of relations between two countries, which he does not oppose.

"The RSK adheres to its stance that is must preserve its state, and that it must participate as an equal partner in all agreements on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. If Croatia signed the agreement hoping to return the RSK into its state framework, it is wrong," Jarcevic stressed.

Akmadzic Interviewed on Agreement

LD2101102994 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Interview with Mile Akmadzic, Herceg-Bosna foreign minister, minister of interrepublican cooperation, and head of the Bosnian Croat delegation at the Geneva

negotiations, by unidentified correspondent in Geneva on 20 January; from the "Picture vs Picture" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Dear viewers, our guest this evening is Mile Akmadzic, minister for interrepublican cooperation and foreign minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Good evening and welcome to our studio from Geneva.

[Akmadzic] Good evening. Thank you.

[Correspondent] We can say that you were the head of the Bosnian Croat delegation at the latest round of Geneva negotiations. In the shade of, let me say, the big signature between Zagreb and Belgrade yesterday, a slightly smaller, but no less important signature appeared between Pale [the power center of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina], so to say, and Mostar, seeing that offices, that is, representatives' offices will be opened in those towns by 15 February 1994. Could you describe that agreement, and what does the phrase that there are no controversial issues that cannot be solved through negotiations means? What are these controversial issues?

[Akmadzic] You see, first of all, we are taking into account the current state of negotiations on the future set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the need for a comprehensive peace in the region. We are aware of the fact that Europe wants peace, Europe insists on peace. The EU has sent us a memo, a demarche in which it demands and claims that after long negotiations the time has come to reach an agreement on peace. Both the Serb delegation and us are aware of that, and—I am speaking about the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia- Herzegovina—we held talks and concluded that it would be good to establish that we favor a permanent peace and that we are aware of the fact that, at the moment, our disputes are of such a nature that they do not go beyond the level that could not be solved by peaceful means. Therefore, we are in favor of talks, of a solution to all problems by peaceful means between the two of us, and for a solution to all problems by peaceful means with the third side, that is the Bosniak Muslims or the Muslims as they are referred to in documents.

[Correspondent] Let us still stay on the agreement between Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. What are the disputed areas? Are they Kupres, Jajce, Posavina? Could you perhaps mention some other ones in addition to these?

[Akmadzic] I would like to say that the basic thing that we have not agreed upon yet refers to Posavina [the basin of the river Sava in Bosnia]. Namely, in our earlier talks, in earlier conclusions, especially during the talks on the [aircraft carrier] Invincible and before that, the map that was offered was not satisfactory for the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina. We put forward new demands in that respect. The Serb side accepted to discuss our demands and make some concessions. We have not yet defined how many and what concessions, but we said that they would be about two percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in northern Bosnia. [sentence as heard] Therefore, in that respect, we have reached an agreement in principle, but we have not yet agreed where exactly the line of separation would be.

[Correspondent] Talking about Bosnian Posavina, what would be the fate of the Serb corridor [between Serbia proper and the Serb-held areas in western Bosnia and Croatia] in your solution? Will it be cut? How would Muslim demands for access to the river Sava fit into that solution?

[Akmadzic] You see, the Muslims have demanded and have now particularly stressed—among the disputed towns that they stress normally as disputed towns between them and Croats on the one hand and them and Serbs on the other—Brcko. Therefore, in that respect, the Serb corridor would have to be cut in that area, unless the problem is solved in a way satisfactory for both sides—the Serb and the Muslim sides, and the Croat side too; unless it is solved by some technical means—the earlier mentioned overpasses and underpasses and such elements that would enable both sides to have free access. I must say that this issue has not yet been solved, but I think that, as far as the Serb side is concerned, they will definitely have free passage toward, let us say, east [Serbia proper].

[Correspondent] That means that this Croat demand for 2 percent would not threaten the corridor.

[Akmadzic] It need not threaten the corridor. We are not talking about sovereignty here but about the freedom of passage. In any case, they will be able to pass through there unhindered.

[Correspondent] Let us remain on the subject of Bosnian Posavina, an interesting subject because two members of the Bosnian Posavina assembly were present in Geneva—Kovacevic and Stanic—they took part in the talks as members of the Sarajevo authorities' delegation. How did this happen and why did they not attend as members of the Croat delegation?

[Akmadzic] You see, the assembly of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna, or to be more precise, the house of deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna declared this assembly held in Bosanska Posavina illegitimate, illegal. However, we are not bent on aggravating the situation in this case. Two people—Ivko Stanic and Ante Kovacevic—showed up in Geneva as the representatives of the Bosnian Posavina Croats. This is the second time they were there [in Geneva]. Only now they said they were also the representatives of the Croats from central Bosnia in line with a decision made by another assembly....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Which you had attended.

[Akmadzic] Yes, but this assembly did not reach any decisions to send them there.

[Correspondent] What was decided?

[Akmadzic] It was verbally concluded at this assembly—I am not familiar with the procedure governing written conclusions—that two people should go with me to Geneva because it was already known at that time that I would be a member of the Bosnian Croat delegation. This was not a matter of dispute. We brought this up in our talks with the co-chairmen, especially after these two people—Stanic and Kovacevic—held a news conference in Geneva. The co-chairmen explained that they were members of the Muslim delegation—I am using the terminology they used—therefore, they were in Geneva as members of the Muslim, or Bosniak- Muslim, delegation. All I can say is that such conduct is very damaging to our negotiating position, that it has an adverse effect on the atmosphere of goodwill. This especially applies to some of their stands on our legitimacy. Our delegation in Geneva certainly was legitimate, it was appointed in a legitimate way, it was approved by the House of Deputies. Sadly, the fact remains that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina became divided over this whole negotiating process.

[Akmadzic] Let us be precise. I would not call it a division. These assemblies were also not held in this way, especially the central-Bosnian one, which I attended. I attended it precisely because I wanted to see what was happening and to contact these people. It is, I would say, a meeting of Croats, not just from central Bosnia but also from other places. For instance, there were people from Livno, Jajce, from northern Bosnia who do not belong in central Bosnia. As for Sarajevo, according to our Bosnia-Herzegovina terminology, it is questionable whether it is in central Bosnia. We know that central Bosnia includes the municipalities of Kiseljak, Kresevo, Busovaca, Vitez, Kakanj, Vares, etc. I think that there is no rift among the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are united, we have a unified stand. These people are living in Zagreb, they all met, in this sense it is not a bad idea. It is good that they met to examine the political situation and offer to help as much as they can. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In how many places in Bosnia-Herzegovina are the units of HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the B-H Army cooperating.

[Akmadzic] It is difficult to say. In some places they are cooperating of their own free will and in many places not at all. For instance, one HVO brigade in Sarajevo—Kralj Tvrtko—was forced to join the B-H Army's 1st Corps without our permission and without any consultations with us. This brigade is now still acting under the same name—Kralj Tvrtko—but is under the direct command of the B-H Army's First Corps. This is contrary to our relations and our earlier agreements.

[Correspondent] Let us now hear Muslim reactions to yesterday's two agreements. We have Ejup Ganic's statement for CNN—which refers to the Zagreb-Belgrade agreement. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] We heard Ejup Ganic's statement—the first reaction from....[pauses] I would say it is much stronger than the one by Alija Izetbegovic who was in a way more reserved and who welcomed the agreement [word indistinct] not to the detriment of the third party. Have these two agreements really succeeded in pursuing the idea on the division of Bosnia and in forcing the Muslims to end the fighting?

[Akmadzic] Let me just confirm what you said. Ganic has lately been making statements which, I think, may not be completely in line with what Izetbegovic or Haris Silajdzic have been saying.

[Correspondent] Which can be part of the strategy?

[Akmadzic] Which can, of course, be part of the strategy. In any case, I must say that—as far as the Croat side is concerned—there is no division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Until now, especially during the war, Croats were the ones who most strongly advocated [a single] Bosnia-Herzegovina, but we think that Bosnia- Herzegovina can only be what it can be at a given moment. A union of B-H republics is presently being considered. You know very well, and all viewers and the general public know, that we supported the Vance-Owen plan that was against the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. At one point there was discussion of a federation, etc. At present it is a question of the union of B-H republics—this is still Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are supporting this. Not to support this at the present time—as Ganic thinks—would mean a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We will do everything in our power to ensure that Bosnia-Herzegovina remains to exist in whatever form it can.

[Correspondent] Another interesting piece of information appeared in our press today: That Muslims have been buying weapons and ammunition from the Serbs for gas-dollars from Islamic countries. Do you have any information on this?

[Akmadzic] Of course we do not have any concrete data, but there have been various reports about this. It is a fact that the Muslim side—this is what we are called in the negotiations, the Muslim, Croat, and Serb side—does not have any special financial difficulties. They openly say it themselves. They get aid from Islamic countries. We also know that the Islamic conference's contact group, that is its core, has frequent sessions, and that they provide very significant aid for the Bosniak-Muslim side. We do not know exactly which countries provide the aid, but it is certain....

[Correspondent, interrupting] A more interesting question is: Do they buy weapons from the Serbs?

[Akmadzic] I believe that they buy weapons from the Serbs, not officially, but we know that various channels and various interests operate there and they certainly buy weapons from the Serbs.

[Correspondent] Do such things happen between the Croats and Serbs?

[Akmadzic] According to our official policy—of course it does not, for our interests as regards this are not convergent. The Muslim and Serb interests are not convergent either. It is possible that unofficial channels exist. It is, however, certain that such things do not happen officially.

[Correspondent] In the end—an important issue: The international community has increasingly often indicated a possible withdrawal of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] units, primarily British and French, from Bosnia-Herzegovina this spring. What would this mean for Bosnia-Herzegovina and particularly for the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Akmadzic] We have been openly told in Geneva by the cochairmen that, if the negotiations were to continue in this manner, with very poor results or with hardly any result at all, the war could then last for a long time, until the complete exhaustion of all the sides in the conflict, until peace is reached in such a way. It is possible that the international community is considering the withdrawal of its forces in order to reach that level of exhaustion as soon as possible. Nothing has been said or indicated to us as regards this. I believe, if the talks continue to yield no success, that this [the withdrawal] can happen and that they will let the war go on until total exhaustion.

[Correspondent] In that case, what would the fighting be like, all against all, or some against some? Yesterday, we had a report by Sky TV that speculates that, in case of the withdrawal and even if they do not withdraw, the Serb and Croat units would openly militarily cooperate and fight the Muslims.

[Akmadzic] I would not speak about that, but I would stress that the Croat side is ready to sign peace with both other sides, and that we want peace. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is completely contrary to the interests of the Croat people, except when it is being fought solely to defend it's rights, the right to equality, the right to Bosnia-Herzegovina, of course together with the other two peoples. In that case we will defend ourselves, but we are against resolving problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina by fighting. You know that at the beginning of the war we were the first to organize curself for the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina. All of the recent criticism of us is without any foundation. We will protect our interests, but we will fight for peace.

Izetbegovic Visits NATO Headquarters

LD2001223994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2157 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Brussels, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic was told on Thursday at NATO headquarters in Brussels that the Western alliance would intervene in the Bosnian civil war only at the request of the United Nations.

Izetbegovic, who was meeting NATO Deputy Secretary-General Amadeo de Franchihis, reiterated the Moslem position for resolving the conflict in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as presented at the peace talks in Geneva, a NATO spokesman told TANJUG.

The peace talks ended on Wednesday without any concrete results because Bosnian Moslems again rejected an internationally drawn peace plan although the representatives of the other two Bosnian nations—the Serbs and the Croats—had met European demands for ensuring to the Moslems one-third of the territory.

The NATO spokesman said de Franchihis once again confirmed that NATO was ready to contribute to implementing any Bosnia peace agreement and help plan any action demanded by the United Nations.

The spokesman refused to comment on the details of Izetbegovic's meeting with de Franchihis save for saying that it was informative in nature and that Izetbegovic's visit to Brussels was private in character and organized at his request.

U.N. General-Secretary Butrus Butrus-Ghali said on Thursday he had not received any requests for a military intervention in Bosnia and that he could not decide alone on that issue, but only in consultations with the Security Council. Butrus-Ghali was officially reminded of this by Russia, one of the five Security Council members with veto powers, which opposes the use of force in Bosnia.

Diplomats say that special U.N. envoy in ex-Yugoslavia Jasushi Akashi said in a report to the secretary-general he was explicitely against the use of NATO troops for a military intervention in Bosnia.

Well-informed sources say Akashi has established that the Serbs are willing to allow the replacement of Canadian U.N. peace-keepers in the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, and that the reopening of the airport in Moslem-controlled Tuzla is not so urgent because humanitarian convoys can reach the area by land.

At its summit in Brussels ten days ago, NATO threatened to mount air strikes against Bosnian Serbs who the Western military alliance alleged would not allow the replacement of the U.N. troops in Srebrenica and reopening of Tuzla airport.

Zhelev Interviewed on Bosnia, Macedonia, NATO

BR2001142094 Paris LIBERATION in French
20 Jan 94 p 15

[Interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Marc Semo in Sofia on 19 January: "Regional Stability the Bulgarian Way"]

[Text] The hosts, the place, and the table are exactly the same as five years ago when, on 19 January 1989, President Francois Mitterand—on an official visit to communist Bulgaria—welcomed 12 "dissidents," unknown at the time, at the French embassy. They included Zhelyu Zhelev, 57, a philosopher whose works were regularly banned and who organized the Club for Glasnost and Perestroyka, the first intellectual coterie for opponents of the regime. Following the palace revolution that ousted Todor Zhivkov in November 1989 and set the country on the road to democracy, Zhelev became a unifying force and leader of the UDF [Union of Democratic Forces], a heterogenous group of the anticommunist opposition. The former dissident, elected president in August 1990, met Francois Mitterand yesterday. And LIBERATION.

[Semo] The former Communists are ahead in the opinion polls and, what is even worse, more than one Bulgarian in two turns his back on all political parties. After Poland, is it not now Bulgaria's turn to fall victim to disillusionment and a certain nostalgia for Communism?

[Zhelev] There is a real danger of this. These are the negative effects of the move toward a market economy. People are facing enormous difficulties in their day-to-day lives and are having to do without many things. The increase in crime further fuels this nostalgia. It is not surprising. Dictatorships and authoritarian regimes manage to brutally but successfully control lawlessness. Freedom does not mean anything to ordinary people with no guarantee of security.

[Semo] With the war worsening in the former Yugoslavia, does the risk of it spreading to neighboring countries like Bulgaria still seem real?

[Zhelev] I do not believe the conflict can reach our country, as we are on good terms with our neighbors. But if Macedonia was torn apart by deliberately provoked inter-ethnic tensions, we would be directly affected, if only by the flow of refugees into our country. A policy of active neutrality is the best barrier against this danger of conflagration in the Balkans. This means first of all non-interference. Second, the rigorous respect for the embargo and sanctions imposed on the former Yugoslavia by the international community. But I stress the active nature of this neutrality. We cannot remain indifferent to the human rights situation and the rights of minorities in these neighboring countries.

[Semo] In spring 1992, Bulgaria became the first country to recognize the Republic of Macedonia as a state if not a nation, despite criticism from a large part of public opinion which considers the Macedonians to be Bulgarians. On this occasion you affirmed the need to break with the major nationalistic myths?

[Zhelev] We have very close ties with Macedonia: We have a common history, culture, religion, and language. But that is the sentimental aspect of the problem. The act of recognition, on the other hand, represented the acceptance of this state with its full sovereignty and its borders.

[Semo] Do you believe there is now a need—in order to exert pressure on Belgrade—to further tighten the embargo or consider air strikes?

[Zhelev] This embargo, which seriously penalizes our economy, is already very severe. The real problem is how to ensure that these sanctions are respected, also by neighboring countries. Any decision to undertake air strikes or any form of military intervention must be taken by the United Nations, NATO, or the WEU [Western European Union]. But if the international community were to choose to use force, it is vitally important that neighboring countries should not be involved in these operations. That would risk sparking off a new Balkan war.

[Semo] Bulgaria—along with other countries in Central and Eastern Europe—has asked to join NATO, which it sees as a guarantee for its security. How do you judge the offer by President Clinton for a form of "Partnership for Peace" while awaiting possible integration?

[Zhelev] It remains the best proposal made to date. But this initiative perhaps remains insufficient in security terms, as what we are being offered is not the same as that which Alliance members are guaranteed. I nevertheless feel it is particularly significant as it offers an equal chance to all Central and Eastern Europe's new democracies, without categorizing or differentiating, which is always a source of tension.

[Semo] Since you became president, you have managed to defuse the problem of the Turkish minority—one-tenth of the population—which was the most explosive legacy of Communism. Is there a Bulgarian model for the ethnic question?

[Zhelev] I based my action on the old tradition of tolerance of the Bulgarian people. Even after five centuries of Ottoman domination, relations between the Bulgarians and the Turks were good. The tensions of recent years had been deliberately created by the former regime which—seeking a demagogic excuse for its failures—opted for an absurd policy which violated the fundamental rights of this minority group. We felt bound to immediately restore these rights, and, in addition, we guaranteed active participation in governmental bodies for the Turkish minority. One-tenth of the elected representatives are Turks and their party plays a key role in the Parliament.

President Zhelev, Mitterrand Hold Meeting

AU1901131694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] The 30-minute meeting between President Zhelyu Zhelev and French President Francois Mitterrand has ended. At the end of the meeting the French president told reporters that the purpose of his visit was to check at what stage Bulgaria's preparations are for hosting the Council of Europe session in May.

Another goal of his meeting is to strengthen Bulgarian-French economic and cultural relations, stressing economic contacts in particular.

The French president said that stimulating foreign investments is of special importance for Bulgaria. They must be directed with priority toward small and medium-size enterprises.

President Mitterrand promised to support Bulgaria's efforts to achieve an alleviation of the burden of foreign debt.

Mitterrand Departs

AU1901204394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] French President Francois Mitterrand, who made a one-day official visit to Bulgaria, departed this evening. He was seen off at Sofia Airport by President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Prior to his departure at a reception given at his honor at the Boyana Residence, Francois Mitterrand said that Bulgaria has changed from a political and economic point of view.

Sugarev Calls Zhelev 'State Traitor'

AU1901203394 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 94 p 3

[Edvin Sugarev commentary: "Preach of State Traitor"]

[Text] In his Sunday [9 January] speach, delivered on the radio, President Zhelev said that anyone who hindered negotiations on the foreign debt and concluding an agreement with the IMF is encroaching upon national interests and is committing an act of state treason. Unquestionably, this is a worthy position on the part of the head of our state. Simultaneously, this is unprecedented hypocrisy in our modern history.

This is so because the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was on the verge of signing an agreement with the former creditors on much better terms than the government of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], led by his former adviser. This government achieved a vague preliminary agreement, which could hardly be implemented. Weeks before the SDS government was about the sign the agreement, the Bulgarian president gave the signal to launch a total attack on the government, and personally joined in the attack with unworthy lies and mean scripts concocted by the secret services under his control. At that stage [former Finance] Minister Kostov warned him that the national interests are on the line rather than political interests or power ambitions. However, the president, the Bulgarian president, preferred to act as if he were deaf.

The SDS government also reached an agreement with the IMF on a three year stand-by. Berov's cabinet has no chance of reaching such an agreement. The tacit coup, again directed by this president, foiled that opportunity. The result—not a single dollar for Bulgaria as a credit for more than one year, and not a single serious investment. Thus for a year we are marking time, something that has completely ruined our economy, filled up the pockets of the new mafia, caused record unemployment, blocked privatization and land restitution, prompted the first steps of hyperinflation, and foiled the budget and the new draft budget, whose deficit could bury any government.

To speak after all this about national interests is only political impudence. It is high time that the one who preaches to Bulgaria measured his own words and deeds, because following their logic it appears that the president himself is a state traitor.

Skoda's Arms Talks With Iran Revealed

AU1901140394 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No. 3 17-23 Jan 94 pp 7, 9

[Ivan Lamper article: "Skoda Plzen Denies Arms Contacts With the Iranian Regime; the Documents State Otherwise"]

[Text] On Monday 10 January a strange denial was published in MLADA FRONTA DNES: "It is out of the question that Skoda Plzen would want to offer Iran the modernized version of the T-72 tank." This statement was issued to the press by Skoda Plzen Spokesman Jaroslav Hudec. According to him, he wanted to curb "speculation by some of the media about the visit to Iran by the Skoda director." Until Hudec's statement, however, there had been no trace of suspicion in any Czech or foreign newspaper that Skoda Director General Lubomir Soudek had offered tanks to Tehran. Until now, his trip to Iran has been marked by a completely different scandal: A willingness to supply the regime with technology for its nuclear program. Why did Spokesman Hudec decide to deny "speculation" that has so far not occurred to anyone?

The Deputy Minister and the General

The answer is simple. On Friday 7 January RESPEKT asked Director General Soudek the following question: "During your visit to Iran at the end of last November, did you hold talks with representatives from the Iranian Defense Ministry and military experts"? As Soudek was unable to reply—apparently, he was too busy—Jaroslav Hudec dealt with the matter: "I am authorized to state on behalf of the director that, while he was in Tehran, he did not hold talks with any of the people you mention." Three days later, the aforementioned denial was issued. Although no specific arms were mentioned in the RESPEKT question, Hudec thought it necessary to deny in advance talks about T-72 tanks.

The two negative statements issued by Spokesman Hudec are, of course, at variance with the document RESPEKT has managed to obtain. This is an internal memorandum from the trip to Iran prepared for select trading partners of Skoda Plzen after the delegation's return home. The following two notes are contained in the comprehensive text:

A Meeting at the Defense Ministry.

Present on the Iranian side: Deputy Minister Vaheed and five

members of his staff; the deputy foreign minister.

We briefed them on the RDP Group and its possibilities. We

gave them a rough outline, prepared by the RDP Group, of the

options for supplying our hardware .

Interest in:

—the new generation of surface-to-air missiles

—Tamara

—the modernization of tanks.

Talks With the Army.

Present: General Rahimi, deputy head of tank production.

The general is an expert on tanks. It was recommended to:

—send him a list of RDP Group shareholders and their military

production program (responsible: Engineer Vlcek, deadline 31

December 1993)

—invite representatives from the Iranian Army to a

demonstration of the T-72 and other weapons innovations

(responsible: Engineer Vlcek, deadline 2/94).

On the basis of a demonstration of the hardware, it is possible

to conclude an agreement on the purchase of weapons or on

cooperation in the production of weapons systems in components.

The Risk: An Unnecessary Fuss in Advance

Jan Vlcek, the director general of the Czech RDP Group arms consortium, knows nothing about a list of shareholders or about inviting Iranian experts, which he is supposed to arrange. "I have not heard anything about this," he says. "We respect the law and Czech foreign policy." Like Jaroslav Hudec, he also describes all the reports about talks between Soudek's team and Iranian military officials as "mere deduction and speculation."

Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy is more cautious in his judgment. In reply to a written question on whether he had been informed of Soudek's talks at the Defense Ministry in Tehran—either before the visit or after it—he said: "I am only given a brief outline of Mr. Soudek's plans during his foreign visits. I was not informed in advance of any specific contacts in Iran. I was briefed on his talks only after the visit was over."

And the second question was—what do you think of them?

"During all of these negotiations, the RDP Group management exposes itself to the substantial risk that the activities that attract unnecessary attention in advance

will come up against a stumbling block—that the government will not grant a license for the anticipated exports."

There is a slight slip here: In the Czech Republic today it is Vladimir Dlouhy's own office and not the government that grants licenses for military contracts. According to a cabinet resolution of May 1993, it must—at the same time—be guided by the point of view of the Foreign Ministry. It, according to its spokeswoman, Lucie Pilipova, only considers trade with countries under the UN Security Council's embargo to be unequivocally prohibited. Despite this, the Cernin Palace apparently also "carefully analyzes" all other requests to export arms and, after weighing up the situation, gives its consent or rejects them. Would the Foreign Ministry now permit the export of tanks and missiles to Iran? "It is impossible to give an unequivocal answer to such a hypothetical question that does not concern a specific application for a license," said Pilipova. "I think, however, that, after taking into consideration all the circumstances, our office would be inclined to the view not to permit such exports."

An Element of Human Culture

Jaroslav Hudec has prepared a little show piece for reporters in connection with the discussion on arms production at Skoda Plzen: A copy of the technical design for a saber—"until now, our last arms order"—that Skoda produced 300 of 10 years ago for the Castle Guard. "Nevertheless, I would like to emphasize one thing," says Mr. Hudec apropos the drawing. "Arms production is an element of human culture. It is a fact of life and we are realists. We are not ashamed of wanting to manufacture special technology. Unfortunately, however, we have found ourselves on the defensive."

It is, of course, hard to determine the true extent of this "defensive." Skoda Plzen is one of the 40 shareholders in the RDP Group arms consortium and, within its framework, it coordinates the program for modernizing the Soviet T-72 tank. "It should be a truly quality tank," said Lubomir Soudek in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE on 29 September last year. "We will modernize it right on the spot based on verified documentation from Western firms and tried-and-tested engines. I believe there will be a great deal of interest in it. In the near future, I will hold talks with the ministers of national defense of certain states outside Europe. We have to agree on some deliveries."

Now the Skoda spokesman "on behalf of Mr. Soudek" is casting doubt on some of the statements made by his director. In particular, it is—apparently—out of the question that our arms producers could agree with anyone on supplies of the T-72 "in the near future." The entire modernization process is—regardless of the verified documentation and the tried-and-tested engines—in its infancy. The company has only just hired an expert to determine the course of the project, to prepare the budget, calculations, and so on. Apparently, no one has any details at the moment and nothing will be clear for about two years. The situation is the same with regard to another of the statements quoted—"modernization on the spot." "So far, we do not know how the tank's modernization will proceed," Hudec told RESPEKT. "Mr. Soudek's statement was merely an entrepreneurial idea that has not yet acquired firm contours."

Untrue again, at least as far as Jan Vlcek, the head of the RDP Group, is concerned. For him it is a fait accompli: "Country X will simply place an order for the modernization of its tanks and we will go there and carry out the work locally. The state where we will carry out the modernization has to be—naturally—approved by the government."

There is a problem here, however. Today, there are very few countries X that have the "T-72" and that, at the same time, would meet our conditions for arms exports. The only logical customer would be our army. However, the RDP Group management itself admits that, so far, it has not managed to conclude a contract with it. Therefore, if Vlcek's company wants to adhere to our state's political line in its business dealings, its stake on the T-72 looks like an inexplicable risk: The markets that would be interested are embargoed and those to which the tank may be exported do not want the product.

According to rival experts from this branch, the answer to the riddle lies in the phrase "modernization on the spot." Instead of provocative and largely unsuccessful attempts to "smuggle" assembled weapons to terrorist countries, this method provides scope for more dignified camouflage: Only parts of these weapons, licenses, and the appropriate know-how can be exported.

Until the Bear Starts Waving His Arms

Of course, tanks and missiles were not the only hot items discussed by the Czech businessmen during their visit to Tehran. Apart from General Rahimi and Deputy Minister Vaheed (the former head of the Iranian intelligence service), the Skoda Plzen director also visited Reza Amrollahi from the Iranian Atomic Commission. A well-known scandal erupted around these talks immediately after the return of Soudek's delegation.

"The Iranian regime is trying to turn Prague into a purchasing center for technology, know-how, and materials that would be denied it elsewhere in the world," wrote the Israeli newspaper HA'ARETZ on 5 December and thus provoked an outcry in the domestic and foreign media. The most severe reaction came from North America. "According to the U.S. strategic doctrine, it is necessary to ward off the risk that Iran will produce a nuclear weapon. Germany, after it got its fingers burnt in Iraq and Libya, banned the export of nuclear technology to terrorist states, but people from executive power are trying to get round this ban. And the hungry Czechs want to sell to anyone," wrote THE NEW YORK TIMES three days before the end of the year. The article ended unequivocally: "If Prague sees its future as a merchant of

death, it should be told that it cannot bank on membership in NATO. If the Russian bear again begins to wave his arms, whom would the Czechs want to guarantee their security? Will it turn to its nuclear customers in Tehran?"

The domestic press mostly limited itself to quoting the official statements issued by Skoda Plzen. It admitted that negotiations were held on supplying a reactor to Iran, but it denied that it acted as an intermediary for Siemens or Westinghouse. The mass media, the Skoda Plzen spokesman, and some government ministers then repeated several times that Skoda's offer concerns "peaceful technology," which can in no way be used for the production of nuclear weapons. This argument was used recently by MLADA FRONTA DNES on 10 January: "To be slightly cynical, selling the Iranians a reactor just means a good deal to the tune of tens of millions of korunas. It would be hard for the company's management to explain to its shareholders that they had left such an opportunity to the competition."

The Road to Prosperity

The uproar over the nuclear reactor is the second time recently that the world has tried to scuttle Czech-Iranian nuclear cooperation. In June 1993 the secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Prague asked the Foreign Ministry to suspend the contract to supply technology for extracting and processing uranium ore concluded between the Prague company Geoindustria GMS and the Iranian Atomic Commission. The Czech side replied that it was impossible to turn down the deal because it involved "peaceful equipment," but in the end—apparently, thanks to voluntary cooperation from the exporter—the export deal fell through. Last year the GMS company even terminated its work on a geological survey of the uranium deposits in the Anarak and Bandar Abbas regions in Iran.

Skoda Plzen, of course, refuses to make similar concessions in the nuclear business. The pressure to terminate the contract is, according to it, merely an "unfair move by the competition." The question of who this competition is remains unanswered. In democratic countries today there is no risk of being lost in the crush over orders for the Iranian nuclear program. The Federal Government (under pressure from the United States) prohibited Siemens from undertaking nuclear activity in Iran several years ago and the French Framatome company and—of course—the U.S. Westinghouse company cannot export there either. Skoda has also been criticized in the foreign press not for reasons of "competition," but on the contrary, because—as an alleged intermediary—it enables these companies to conduct prohibited business deals.

At the moment, Iran has a contract with Russia to construct a nuclear power plant (the VVER [water-moderated water-cooled power reactor] type). Russia is also apparently considering whether to complete the half-built (and partly bombed) power plant in Bushehr that had to be abandoned by Siemens. According to Skoda Deputy Director Frantisek Svitak, the Plzen company is interested in participating in—to say the least—the first order as a general supplier via Russia. The point of view of the experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency is unequivocal: A project of this size will give the Iranians considerable experience in reactor engineering and operations. It will be essential to train local experts and to permit the operation of test reactors that, in the long-term perspective, will support the state's nuclear program. Moreover, if Tehran obtains the VVER reactor, this will provide it with enough of an excuse to submit orders for more nuclear technology.

The equally unequivocal point of view of Skoda's senior management stands in opposition to all of this. Spokesman Jaroslav Hudec formulated it as follows in the December issue of the enterprise's magazine SKODOVAK: "Whether people like it or not, our enterprise will not allow itself to be dictated to by anyone who feels entitled to do so. We have our own way of thinking and our own plans for achieving prosperity."

Skoda Boss Refuses To Comment

AU1901214094 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Jan 94 pp 1,2

[Jaroslav Kmenta report: "Iran Has Apparently Manifested an Interest in Products From Czech Arms Factories"]

[Text] Prague—Representatives from Skoda Plzen, which is part of the RDP Group arms consortium, held talks during their visit to Iran in autumn with officials from the Iranian Army at the country's Defense Ministry. A diplomatic source informed MLADA FRONTA DNES of this yesterday. He added that this was supposed to have been an informative meeting concerning possible cooperation in the arms industry.

Skoda Director General Lubomir Soudek has not denied this report; at the same time, however, he has not confirmed it. "I am not saying yes or no. I do not think it is anyone's business what the talks were about, how extensive they were, or with whom they were held. When the talks assume a specific form, we will proceed in accordance with the laws," he said.

The Iranian regime is described by some countries—for example, by Israel—as a terrorist regime.

Lubomir Soudek denied contacting the Iranians to offer them surface-to-air missiles or the Tamara passive radar system.

According to the most recent issue of the weekly RESPEKT, there exists an internal memorandum by Lubomir Soudek from the trip to Iran in which he writes about a meeting at the Defense Ministry and about talks with the army.

According to this document, the Skoda director was, for example, supposed to have briefed Iranian Deputy

Defense Minister Vaheed on the RDP Group, the Czech company involved in the production and sale of weapons. The Iranians were supposed to have shown an interest in the new generation of surface-to-air missiles, the Tamara radar system, and modernized tanks.

Soudek has confirmed that a memorandum from his visit to Iran exists; nevertheless, he said that it is not available to reporters. The Skoda director told us the following in connection with the talks on the Russian T-72 tank, in whose modernization the plant will participate: "So far, we have not modernized a single tank; we have nothing to offer. However, if Iran is on the list of countries to which the export of special materials is prohibited, of course, we will not consider exporting there."

The Foreign Ministry, according to our source, will ask Lubomir Soudek for an official report on his company's activities. Czech diplomats do not know anything about representatives from Skoda Plzen holding talks with army officials in Iran. According to our source, the ambassador of the Czech Republic to Iran was only informed of the Skoda delegation's visit to the Agriculture and Energy Ministries.

"If Skoda Plzen negotiated in Iran as it was alleged to have done, then after 1 March—when the law on arms trading should come into force—it would be possible to regard such activity as an offense," said our diplomatic source, without giving any details.

Lubomir Soudek has emphasized that he held talks in Iran on—for example—plans for a joint enterprise in the sugar refining industry and on the founding of a company to manufacture Skoda trolley buses for the Teheran public transportation system. "If some people want to turn the business trip into a scandal, then they should not be surprised if the number of unemployed increases," declared Soudek.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Nuclear Arms Accord

LD1801192294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 94

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry welcomes the agreement between Ukraine, Russia, and the United States on dismantling the nuclear weapons in the territory of Ukraine, on the implementation of the START I treaty. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry also welcomes Ukraine's determination to join the nuclear nonproliferation treaty as soon as possible. The step reduces the danger of a nuclear war, eases the tension prevailing in our region, and increases the chance for peace, the communique of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry reads.

Jeszenszky To Sign Partnership Documents

LD2101125294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Excerpt] According to a government decision, Hungary will sign the Partnership for Peace documents, which are available next week in the Brussels NATO headquarters. It was also said at the government spokeswoman's briefing that the cabinet, led by Peter Boross, will remain in office after the expiry of its mandate, that is after 2 May, as an executive government, until a new government is elected. Gabor Bankuti reports:

[Bankuti] The government has authorized Minister of Foreign Affairs Geza Jeszenszky to sign NATO's Partnership for Peace documents. They can be signed in Brussels as of next Monday. [passage omitted]

Tanks To Be Purchased From China

AU2001114094 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 94 p 3

[Correspondent's report: "Chinese Tanks From Outstanding Debts?"]

[Text] According to sources in Beijing, the Chinese tanks fulfill the technical parameters demanded by the Hungarian side. A delegation of the Hungarian Interior Ministry held talks recently with the Norilco military industry firm on purchasing such tanks. The delegation, led by State Secretary Attila Korom, left Beijing on 18 January.

According to our correspondent, the Chinese side does not exclude the possibility of selling the tanks in exchange for the 107 million Swiss Francs Chinese state debt to Hungary accumulated in the course of bilateral clearing trade. However, this way, the price is higher than in the case of free currency accounting.

The Hungarian Interior Ministry is conducting information talks on the purchase of 100-150 PSZH tanks, and the Chinese offer stands at $375,000 a piece. Thus, the value of the entire transaction stands around $50 million. The Nikex foreign trade firm has been put in charge of carrying out this purchase. The executive manager of this firm, Attila Varadi, who participated in the current negotiations, used to be the Hungarian commercial attache in Beijing, and later worked at Gyorgy Matrai's Autotrade company. Originally, it was the Autotrade that won the right to settle the Chinese debt to Hungary, but it failed to carry out this task in time, probably due to Matrai's arrest in connection with the Samax- affair. Varadi left the Autotrade after the arrest of his boss.

Ganic Criticizes Tudjman-Milosevic Accord

AU2001174394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Ejup Ganic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has visited the military police battalion within the Bosnia-Herzegovina General Staff of the Supreme Command. He informed the representatives of the military police about the current military situation, and the peace negotiations. Edin Muhic reports.

[Muhic] Dzevad Radzo, commander of the military police battalion, briefed Dr. Ganic about the activities of the members of this battalion. He emphasized the high morale of his fighters, whose average age is about 25. Radzo also stressed the excellent cooperation with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, particularly in fighting crime. The fighters of the military police battalion are also involved in combat operations together with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Speaking about the latest round of the Geneva talks, Dr. Ganic stressed that the Serbian-Croatian coalition from Karadjordjevo [location of Milosevic-Tudjman talks in 1991 on the carve-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina] was again at work.

[Ganic] However, we will continue to fight. We will wait for the convention of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, wait to hear their views on the [word indistinct] that they will support a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that they will not support this Karadjordjevo concept. [words indistinct] some other coalitions are possible, coalitions that no one has ever under any circumstances envisaged.

[Muhic] Addressing the partition of the country, the carve-up of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia, Ganic said:

[Ganic] Tudjman and Milosevic cannot carve up Bosnia. They cannot even with the help of some circles in Europe, because that would extend the Bosnia-Herzegovina war into new regions. No one has ever counted on that. You have heard that we have been offered Peljesac, that is, a part of Peljesac to build a port, so [we have been offered] a part of another country, somebody else's territory. I would like to remind you that we have built one port on somebody else's territory, the port of Ploce. Now they want us to build another one. Why should we [word indistinct], when we have our own coast [in and around Neum], and we can build the port there, on the territory over which we have sovereignty, and that is some 24 kilometers of coast.

[Muhic] The international community during the Geneva talks has abandoned the principles set at the London conference, Ganic stressed.

[Ganic] We have to return to them. Whether by the Security Council or some other [word indistinct] conference, a Balkan one or a London one, whatever, the principles have to be set again and then, based on those principles, we can search for a political solution.

[Muhic] Some of the solutions have to be found in Bosnia-Herzegovina itself, Ganic said. First of all we have to bolster the army. There are still reserves, both in the internal organization of the military and civilian authorities, and in involving our people abroad. Just the things that we have done inside Bosnia-Herzegovina have yielded results. What, in the view of Presidency member Ejup Ganic, is needed for the war to be ended?

[Ganic] It will be over when both Serbia and Croatia understand that they cannot carve up Bosnia, that they cannot carve up Bosnia in the way set out in Karadjordjevo. They cannot restrict the Bosniak people to a few enclaves in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Muhic] At the end of his visit to the military police battalion, Dr. Ejup Ganic said:

[Ganic] We here are defending certain values that do not belong to Bosnia-Herzegovina alone, but to all civilization. Because of that, our fighters make one of the best armies ever formed in Europe.

[Muhic] Dzevad Radzo, commander of the military police battalion, expressed his gratitude to Presidency member Ejup Ganic for the information, and concluded that the military police—regardless of the political solutions—will carry out its tasks for as along as needed.

Croats Support Process To Produce Accord

LD2001175894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Text] The joint declaration on launching the process of normalizing relations between the Republic of Croatia and Serbia, i.e., Yugoslavia, is a peaceful and diplomatic step of exceptional importance, whose global positive effects will form the framework for the solution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina war. This is said in a letter which the prime minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, Jadranko Prlic, today sent to Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic. The government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna also supports the agreement on lasting peace between Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and confirms its readiness to work on the consistent implementation of that agreement, the letter says. We would like the Muslim side to sign a similar bilateral or tripartite agreement on ending fighting and on peaceful negotiations in all future relations. [passage omitted]

Koljevic: Geneva Talks 'Step Closer to Peace'

LD1901175694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Excerpt] Obrenovac, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Taking into consideration the intensive plenary and bilateral negotiations in Geneva, it could be said that we are a step closer to peace, particularly after the Serbian proposal to immediately establish peace and a modus vivendi, as

well as solve other remaining political problems later, Serbian Vice President Nikola Koljevic told Radio Obrenovac today.

"Therefore, it is very important the three sides accept the establishment of peace and resolve the remaining disputes peacefully," Koljevic pointed out.

Koljevic said the joint declaration signed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia was "a significant step for overall Serb-Croat relations," stressing that progress was much slower in the negotiations with the Muslim side. [passage omitted]

Briquemont Accuses Croats of Blocking Convoys

LD2001221194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2022 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Commander of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Francis Briquemont, accused Thursday [20 January] Bosnian Croats of blocking the efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to Sarajevo by road.

Foreign news agencies reported Gen. Briquemont as saying in Sarajevo on Thursday that Bosnian Croats failed to keep their promise given on January 12 by their Commander, Ante Roso. They promised to enable UNPROFOR to repair the important Bjela bridge, near Jablanica, southern Bosnia-Herzegovina. The former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been ravaged by the civil war between local Moslems, Serbs and Croats for the past 21 months. Gen. Briquemont said if the bridge was repaired this would facilitate the passage of humanitarian convoys from the Croat-controlled territories in western Bosnia through central Bosnia on their way to Sarajevo. The general said it was quite obvious that the Bosnian Croat Army (HVO) had no wish to help open the Mostar-Jablanica route.

Gen. Briquemont steps down as the U.N. forces commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina next week, after criticizing the U.N. policy in this former Yugoslav republic.

Constitutional Court Abolishes Croatian State

AU2001170094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitutional Court has decided at today's session to revoke the declaration issued in Livno on 24 August 1993 on the formation of the so-called Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna. The Constitutional Court believes that this decision is not in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as—in an unconstitutional way—it represents an attempt to create on a part of the state territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina a new form of social-political community with the basic symbols of a state and legal entity. This violates in the strongest of ways the constitutional organization, the sovereignty, the unity, and the inviolability of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an internationally recognized country. This is issued in a statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitutional Court.

Travnik War Presidency Appeals for Food

AU2101133594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Jan 94

[Statement by the Information Center of the Travnik War Presidency]

[Excerpt] Although we have been sending appeals from Travnik and we cannot say that they have resulted in any real help to our city, the fact that humanitarian situation is getting worse by the day obliges us to continue appealing to humanitarian organizations and the UNHCR, as well as to our country's Presidency and government.

There are 27,000 refugees here whom Travnik has been taking care of for a long time and we do not know how we are still managing to help them survive, but the fact that the local population of Travnik is also hungry and that they need humanitarian aid just as the refugees do should [word indistinct] all those people who should and must help us. The local population are getting food mainly in soup kitchens where food reserves are only sufficient for a few days. [passage omitted]

Tuzla Mayor: NATO, UN 'Must Bare Their Teeth'

AU1901171594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Interview with Tuzla Mayor Selim Beslagic by Salih Brkic in Tuzla on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] [Brkic] It has been 15 months now since Dubrave Airport near Tuzla was completely upgraded so as to be able to receive even the largest of aircraft, but nothing has happened, and the world community is still giving in to chetnik threats that they will shell it continuously with heavy artillery if it is opened. So politics is still what is preventing the lifting of the 10-month-long blockade of Tuzla and this region, even in this way. This is what Selim Beslagic, Tuzla city mayor, says:

[Beslagic] The military officials of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] have visited the airport in the presence of a U.S. officer, who said after the visit that they could equip Dubrave Airport to receive aircraft within two and a half hours. This means that international experts believe that Dubrave Airport can under these conditions and without [word indistinct] elements receive these (aircraft). I think that the airport is in the hands of politics, primarily in the hands of the blackmailing policy of the fascist aggressor—when I say fascist, I mean the Serb-Montenegrin bandits—and it seems to me that NATO, Europe, and the United Nations must bare their teeth and finally show whether they are for or against fascism. If they are for fascism, they will not open

the airport. If they are against fascism, I think that the airport will be opened. I personally hope that it (will be the latter).

[Brkic] This winter some 635,000 people in this region have been living a nightmare when it comes to the delivery of food and survival. Mr. Beslagic, what would the opening of this airport mean?

[Beslagic] The opening of Dubrave Airport has two functions. The first one, I believe, is psychological, to lift the blockade, the psychological blockade, as we are simply blocked here and if aircraft [words indistinct], it would mean that there is a way out. The second is humanitarian, which again [words indistinct] the delivery of food, a regular flow of food, and I can tell you immediately that [words indistinct] and part of the European blackmail.

[Brkic] Over the last few days the world has been saying that this airport near Tuzla will after all be opened. It remains to be seen whether this is just another game.

Mladic Accuses Government Forces of Starting War

AU2001212694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Interview with Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic by Snjezan Lalovic in Pale on 20 January—recorded]

[Text] [Mladic] I and my associates have held talks with Generals Cot and Briquemont and their associates. We discussed various issues of interest to peace and the more normal and regular functioning of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mission in this region. I expect that General Briquemont's contribution to all this will be continued, that this positive trend will continue, and that a peaceful solution in this region will be found.

[Lalovic] We asked General Mladic to comment on the latest Geneva talks.

[Mladic] It is not at all up to me to comment on them. We knew that they [the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government side] would not sign. I am convinced that they will not sign next time either. War suits them, as the forces that started the war, they came for war, and while they are here there will be no peace. They have decided to continue the war for as long as they have the men and the international support. Since they do not lack the latter, and—despite great losses in the former—they will continue the war because those who pushed them into war, their sponsors, will not let them stop the war as they have not achieved their aims. They never did care about Muslim lives, so Alija Izetbegovic will probably [pauses] He is OK. He is not being killed; his supporters are getting killed, those who have been blinded by him.

[Lalovic] This is what General Mladic told us about Izetbegovic's visit to NATO headquarters in Brussels.

[Mladic] He must have gone there to hand in his report [laughs] and to beg for some aid.

[Lalovic] The talks with generals Cot and Briquemont also concerned the possibility of the withdrawal of UNPROFOR from this region.

[Mladic] We discussed the replacement of the Canadian units in Srebrenica, but nothing else in that field.

[Lalovic] The reporters present only had a chance to speak to General Cot in passing. He briefly said that he was in a hurry to meet [new UNPROFOR commander] General Rose, and that he did not have anything of importance to say prior to his departure as UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslavia.

Peace Agreement Signed With Yugoslavia

Government Supports Declaration

LD2001130894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] At its session today the Croatian Government supported a declaration signed yesterday by the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and concluded that it represented important and great headway towards the normalization of relations between the Serbian and the Croatian sides. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Ivo Sanader stressed that reactions by the international community were favorable, which also confirmed that President Tudjman's peace initiative was giving positive results.

Tudjman Reviews Geneva Talks

LD1901235594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2215 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on arrival at Zagreb from Geneva talks—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A few minutes ago the Croatian delegation returned from Geneva. Our colleague Zeljko Rajic met them on their arrival. We would like to warn you that the footage that we are broadcasting now has not been edited:

[Tudjman] I think that this was the most important document since UN Security Council Resolution 871, because according to it Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, have recognized the Republic of Croatia within its borders. Although it has not been clearly said, the formal declaration refers to the UN Charter and the basic CSCE documents which set out precisely that; relations between states are based on mutual recognition and the declaration itself expressly says that this is the first step in the establishment of both diplomatic relations and normalization [as heard] and establishment of interstate relations, and in the normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations in their entirety, which means that the Serbs in Croatia, by this official declaration by Belgrade, are called on to regulate their relations with the Croatian Government in the Republic of Croatia.

This is a victory for our policy which is in line with requirements set by the international community, with the European Union [EU] requirements and those set by the UN Security Council—that political means should be used to resolve the problem of Croatia's UN-protected areas, which are actually under Serb occupation; this occupation, as we know, came as a result of their being supplied in every sense, both with weapons and troops from Serbia. Official Belgrade has now given up this forceful policy and declared itself in favor of political normalization of the overall relations, and consequently has given up the Serbs in Croatia. This is of paramount importance.

After we had signed it, I had a feeling of having achieved a great victory. We will not have to suffer fresh casualties to liberate Croatian territories. In the very near future we will be able to direct our efforts into building our country in the economic and cultural sense. This very act which is of great significance must influence the restoration of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is not as yet certain, as I said in the beginning because the Muslim side has continued putting forward fresh conditions and because there is no accord there when it comes to important issues.

As far as the conference is concerned, I likewise have to say that within the conference we, on our part, offered a new proposal to the Muslims for the regulation of mutual relations, for the establishment of real friendship, for the cessation of fighting between the Muslims and Croats, for halting the Muslim offensive against the Croat areas in central Bosnia.

The Muslims openly demanded in the course of the negotiations that Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces pull out from central Bosnia, that is, from Novi Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca, Kiseljak, Kresevo etc. Therefore, they made it clear in the talks that they wish these territories to become part of the Muslim republic, they tried to back this with all kinds of excuses and reasons—all unacceptable to us from the standpoint of the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the strategic interests of the Croatian state.

We presented our proposal to the Muslims and they gave us their paper, their proposal. We have not even started coordinating our views—the Muslims believe war is inevitable, they even believe that war between the Croats and the Serbs in Croatia is an inevitability and that the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina could hardly be resolved without war. However, this evening, prior to take off and our departure for Zagreb, we held individual talks—Deputy Prime Minister Granic met with Silajdzic, I had a tete-a-tete with Izetbegovic. We tried to agree on the need to establish peace between the Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to stop the bloodshed and seek a basis for lasting cooperation to the benefit of both peoples. We agreed to continue these talks and we hope they will finally produce some results.

We [Croatia and Yugoslavia] signed a declaration and the representatives of Herceg-Bosna and the republic of Srpska also signed a joint declaration on the cessation of hostilities and the opening of missions. All three sides agreed on the establishment of hot lines to prevent the conflict from spreading.

I should also say that we agreed in this declaration on the opening of offices—an office of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade and an official office, a bureau or whatever, of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Zagreb. This is a way to establish normal diplomatic relations, to achieve diplomatic recognition. I remembered in this context that, following the Second World War, when relations between two superpowers—the United States

and China—were frozen, such offices were opened after Kissinger's trip to China. Therefore, this is an extremely important development.

[Tudjman] Let me say this: Some of our people may ask themselves: What does this mean now, establishing diplomatic relations with Belgrade? Is this a way to return back to Yugoslavia or back to Belgrade?

I want to make this clear to everyone: This is recognition of sovereign Croatia. This is a possibility to incorporate peacefully, without casualties and new destruction, all those Croatian areas which are currently occupied or under UN protection into the constitutional and the legal system of the Republic of Croatia. This will not be easy but we have made an important step by initiating this kind of resolution. From this aspect it was a success of our policy, our reputation in the world, our power and friendship that we enjoy from the international factors that helped us [as heard]. Not only did the Russian representative but also representatives of other European states supported this declaration. Therefore, this is how one should assess this truly important event in our recent political reality.

[Reporter] Mr. president, could you describe the role of peace negotiators and the pressure by the international community via the WEU [Western European Union], NATO, and other officials? Did they exert any influence on the two-day talks in Geneva?

[Tudjman] They have influenced the overall talks. They did not have a direct influence on the declaration on the normalization of Serb-Croat relations but they supported this initiative. Russia particularly supported the initiative, which is very important because it means that the main ally of Serbia or Yugoslavia is recommending this. This is also a guarantee that the declaration will be implemented. Some people at the conference had their doubts but it is clear that Serbia, Yugoslavia, and Belgrade found their interest in signing such an agreement; the situation in which they are, bearing in mind the embargo, the sanctions. The international public has accepted this declaration with general approval.

Tudjman, Jovanovic on Document

LD1901203094 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Report by correspondent Jozo Curic on the Belgrade-Zagreb document signed on 19 January, including recorded remarks by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic]

[Excerpts] [Curic] The Belgrade Government and the Croatian Government today signed a document on the peaceful resolution of the crisis in Croatia. [passage omitted]

[Tudjman] This is the first step in the establishment of normal diplomatic relations. One should recall that, for instance, relations between the United States and China, after they had been interrupted for many years, were established precisely in such a way after Kissinger had visited Beijing, by opening up such liaison offices.

This is a great step, I would say, of historical importance, since this means the recognition of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. [passage omitted on Curic speaking about the importance of the declaration]

[Tudjman] This means that public foundations have been laid down for bringing to an end talks that we have been conducting with the Serb population in Croatia, not only on a permanent agreement on the cessation of hostilities, but also on the reintegration of Croatia's territories that are currently under UN protection in a normal way into Croatia's constitutional and legal order. Obviously, this will take place gradually by opening up roads and their reintegration into the economic, legal, and social system of the Croatian state. [passage omitted on Curic on other aspects of the agreement]

[Jovanovic] Turning our back on military methods represents an important step forward in relation to the practice that has hitherto prevailed. This is what is probably the most positive thing in all this. By this declaration, this decision to establish direct communication in the form of these bureaux, offices, the two governments put their full weight behind peace and the resolution of outstanding problems in a peaceful way.

An important problem remains to be solved: That is the problem of Krajina, the UN Protected Areas, which is to be resolved as envisaged by the Vance plan, through direct negotiations between legitimate representatives of Serb Krajina and representatives of the Croatian Government. Of course, we can provide help in this, but we cannot, neither are we authorized, to conduct these negotiations, or to prejudge a final political solution in any way. [passage omitted: Curic presents further details on the signing of the declaration]

[Curic] The Geneva conference, when it comes to peace in Bosnia, has not produced any significant steps forward:

[Tudjman] Perhaps the conference has never before been as dramatic as today. [passage omitted on Curic roundup of the meetings today]

[Tudjman] It was obvious that some participants were in a hurry to reach an agreement, while some others are likewise in a hurry to continue the war. Even though all the sides have stressed that they are in favor of ending the war, practically there have been no results. [passage omitted]

[Tudjman] The important headway that we achieved in this regard is that we agreed with the Muslims that talks on contentious issues should be continued, while the most contentious issue has remained their continued demands regarding Neum and central Bosnia. We offered them a draft of our bilateral agreement, they

offered us theirs, but differences are so big in this regard that this will probably be discussed when the talks resume in Zagreb.

They surprised us with their rejection of 17.5 percent of the territory to be given to the Croats for the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. They accept 33.3 percent in total with regard to concessions that they received from the Serbs, but they are putting forward fresh demands to the Serbs, which refers to some towns; [Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister] Silajdzic even said that he had heard about the 17.5 percent for the first time today, although this conclusion was presented within the conference and within the European Union. [passage omitted]

Security Council Issues Statement

LD2001180694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] The Croatian Defense and National Security Council held its 35th session in the Presidential Palace today with Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, in the chair. The Council was briefed on the results of the latest round of Geneva talks on the former Yugoslavia and on the declaration on the normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the FRY, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro.

The Council supported the declaration, and assessed the normalization of Croatian and Serbian relations as in the strategic interest of the Republic of Croatia and a prerequisite for the establishment of a new international order in the former Yugoslav territory and in this part of Europe and the Balkans.

The signing of the declaration based on the UN Charter and the main CSCE documents is of great political importance, and at the same time confirms the readiness of both sides' signatories of the declaration that the problem of Serbs in Croatia will be resolved in a peaceful way, by reintegrating UN Protected Areas in the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia.

International factors supported the declaration, and assessed it as an important step in the process of finding a permanent political solution in this region.

The government of the Republic of Croatia will do everything in its power to ensure that the provision on the establishment of official representative offices is implemented as of 15 February this year.

As for the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina—despite all peace proposals on the part of the Republic of Croatia and the European initiative—the conference failed to reach a permanent solution because of the Muslim side, but the talks will continue and the next conference has been scheduled for 10 February this year.

Having given full support to the Croatian delegation's consistent stands, the Council expressed hope that the resumption of such policy on Croatia's part would bring about a permanent and just solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Jarcevic Assesses Agreement

LD1901145994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, minister for foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina, said today that the joint statement signed today in Geneva by the ministers for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia "does not infringe on the integrity and sovereignty of the republic of Serb Krajina."

A public statement signed by Jarcevic says that this joint statement, signed by Vladislav Jovanovic and Mate Granic, envisages mutual recognition, normalization of relations and the introduction of representative offices in Belgrade and Zagreb. "The Republic of Croatia can sign international treaties and make agreements only for the territories under its control and those that are not disputable," the statement says. Invoking CSCE documents, as stated, cannot imply the borders desired by the government of the Republic of Croatia, but the real ones.

Jarcevic stresses that the joint statement by Yugoslavia and Croatia in its reference to the UN Charter "relates to those provisions that regulate peaceful solutions to disputes and a people's right to self-determination," something "that implies the will of the people of the republic of Serb Krajina articulated clearly at their referendum, the statement emphasizes."

The government of the republic of Serb Krajina, as stated, welcomes the peace process in the area of the former Yugoslavia and the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia, and believes that "this will contribute to the restoration of peace along the borders between the republic of Serb Krajina and the Republic of Croatia.

Krajina's Bjegovic Welcomes Agreement

AU2001212494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Concerning the signing of the joint declaration on the normalization of relations between the FRY and Republic of Croatia, Djordje Bjegovic, prime minister of the republic of Serbian Krajina, gave Radio Beograd the following statement:

[Begin Bjegovic recording] The joint declaration signed in Geneva on 19 January this year between Mr. Vladislav Jovanovic and Mate Granic, foreign ministers of the FRY and the Republic of Croatia respectively, which envisages mutual recognition and the normalization of relations, and the opening of representative

offices in Belgrade and Zagreb, does not violate the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

The Republic of Croatia can sign international agreements only for the territory it controls and that are not disputed. The government of the republic of Serbian Krajina sees the Geneva agreement between Croatia and Yugoslavia in this light. The CSCE documents do not imply the borders that the Croatian Government would like to have but those that it does have. The UN Charter, mentioned in the joint declaration of Yugoslavia and Croatia, has these regulations in mind, regulations that administer the peaceful solution to disputes and the right of nations to self-determination. This implies the will already expressed at the referendum by the people of the republic of Serbian Krajina, which is well known, not only once but on two occasions.

The government of the republic of Serbian Krajina welcomes the peace processes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and the normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the FRY, in the belief that it will contribute to the establishment of peace along the borders between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia. I believe that this agreement opens vast possibilities of great interest to all the partners in the region. For example, in the infrastructure there are great possibilities for the use of the capacities that have been out of use for four years now. I believe that thus, in a peaceful way, we can solve these problems to everyone's advantage. I particularly think that there are no changes in the relations between the Republic of Croatia and the republic of Serbian Krajina. That is a problem that the republic of Serbian Krajina will solve in the best interests of the country through delegations, the government, the assembly, and other institutions. I believe that there should be more of such agreements, since if we are heading for peace such agreements can only benefit us.

Djukic Hails Accord

AU2101165194 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 94 p 7

[HINA report: "Peaceful Solution of the Crisis"]

[Text] Zagreb—The Serbian People's Party [SNS] has welcomed the joint declaration initiating the normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The SNS particularly welcomes the decision on opening government offices in Belgrade and Zagreb.

"This is a step forward toward establishing crucial conditions for mutual recognition and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states," said Milan Djukic, president of the SNS at a press conference held on Thursday [20 January].

He assessed as "positivie and extremely significant" that "for the first time in Croatian policy all forces are clearly opting for a peaceful solution to the crisis, and Presidnet Tudjman is talking about Serbian autonomy in the UN Protected Areas, although he has not as yet specified its nature." He nevertheless expressed certain reservations toward the latest Geneva negotiations, and said that, taking into consideration the differences and unprincipled attitude of Europe and the world toward finding a solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia, more significant results could not have been expected.

"This gives all the sides involved in the conflict the chance to persevere in realizing their aims," stressed Djukic and added that this is "more than enough reason for continuing the war."

Djukic reiterated the SNS's position that the global solution of the Balkan crisis lies in relations between Serbia and Croatia. He also said that the issue of "how to create an atmosphere of mutual trust" remains an open one. In Djukic's opinion, Croatia's main problem is the solution of the Serbian issue, which should be debated in the Sabor [Croatian parliament], along with other pressing issues of internal policy, as soon as possible. He added that it was "important for Croatian policy to opt for, and clearly understand that a compromise is the only solution open to it." "Croatian policy no longer has any time for mistakes," said the president of the SNS.

HSLS Condemns Accord

LD2001172494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Today, some Croatian opposition parties commented on the declaration signed in Geneva yesterday. In its public statement on the joint declaration by the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] stresses that there is no justification for a policy which seeks an ally in an aggressor and an enemy in a second victim of aggression. The HSLS maintains that the priority task of Croatia's policy should be an agreement with the political leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslims whereas the joint statement by Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will render such an agreement more difficult.

The HSLS believes that relations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can be normalized once it has recognized the Croatian state within its internationally recognized borders, the HSLS says in its statement. The statement was signed by its chairman, Drazen Budisa.

HSP Criticizes Agreement

LD2001202394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Ante Djapic, vice chairman of and spokesman for the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP], commented at a news conference in Rijeka today on the decision to open an office of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade and an office of the Federal Republic in Zagreb.

He said that the HSP, the Croatian Pure Party of Rights, and the Croatian National Democratic League are demanding the urgent convening of a Croatian Assembly session at which the president of the republic and the foreign minister should reveal all the circumstances under which the agreement with the FRY was signed. They are also calling for the rejection of all agreements with the FRY until the Serb occupation army withdraws from the territory of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, until all expelled persons are allowed to return to their homes, and until the FRY explicitly recognizes the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and their internationally recognized borders.

Djapic also disclosed that the merger of the three parties into the Croatian Party of Rights can be expected in the near future.

Foreign Minister Issues Statement on Hurd Visit

LD2001213894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] This is a statement by our [Croatian] Foreign Minister [Mate] Granic after a brief meeting with [British Foreign Secretary] Douglas Hurd:

[Begin Granic recording] We talked about the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We talked about the latest round of talks in Geneva. I briefed Mr. Hurd on the results of the Geneva conference, especially on the importance of the joint declaration on the normalization of interstate relations and the settlement of the UN Protected Areas, which we signed with the FRY. [end recording]

Martic Warns Serbs Face 'Disaster' With Babic

AU1901205094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Report by Gordana Bralic from Baranja]

[Text] Among the people on the front lines, in the villages, in homes, Milan Martic has been explaining the difference between him and the other candidates. If Babic wins, we could face disaster, Martic says, and be set back to fiefdoms. That would lead to new rifts and clashes. He stresses that it is not important to vote for this or that man but for the first or the second option. One will lead us to Serbia, the other one into uncertainty.

[Martic] If my rival candidate were to say that openly, it is the option that is committed to a true unification with the leaders of the republic of Srpska, the Republic of Serbia, then I most certainly would not be here today presenting myself to you. [sentence as heard] I would let that man go ahead, and I would be the first one to support him. Unfortunately, this is not so, and that is why I am here to explain to you that we could face disaster with that option, disaster as a Serbian nation, which absolutely and certainly none of you here want. We do not want—but it is possible—to return to Croatia, to some kind of districts and counties. If there is no solution—and this is logical—with the republic of Srpska and the Republic of Serbia, then the only solution is with Tudjman, with districts and counties.

[Bralic] Milan Martic ends all his addresses with the words that, if he wins, he wishes his authority to be as brief as possible, until the aim is attained and all the Serbian countries are united.

Germany To Start Returning Croatian Refugees

LD1901210994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] According to the latest reports, in Croatia there are 493,647 registered refugees and displaced persons. This is what Adalbert Rebic, head of the department for refugees and displaced people, said at today's news conference.

Included in this number are 241,492 displaced people and 252,155 refugees. According to the department's estimate, there are about 37,500 unregistered refugees and displaced persons. Rebic noted that the number of refugees increases each day, particularly refugees coming from the Banja Luka area where large numbers of Croats and Muslims are being forced by Serb authorities to flee. As regards the announced return of Croatian refugees from Germany, Rebic said he believed Germany would respect the Geneva Convention and send its refugees to safe areas in an organized, voluntary, and gradual way. Consequently, refugees would return to Croatia free, Rebic stressed, and said that this issue was being discussed by high-ranking officials from both countries. Rebic said that the EU had doubled humanitarian aid, sending 10,000 tonnes a month. Last year's quota was 5,000 tonnes. Despite this, in Rebic's words, the humanitarian situation is nevertheless grave.

EU Mission Head for Reexamination of Sanctions

LD2101123194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1039 GMT 21 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 21 (TANJUG)—The new head of the European Union's (EU) monitoring mission for the former Yugoslavia, Greek Ambassador Konstandinos Yarokostopoulos, said he was in favor of reexamining the further implementation of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia and assessed that it was counterproductive when only one side was exposed to international pressure. It is necessary to exert equal pressure on all sides in order to have affect on the negotiations, Yarokostopoulos said in an interview to the Zagreb weekly GLOBUS.

He pointed out that the United Nations wished to exert political pressure on Serbia with the sanctions and that their effect on the overall economy in this Yugoslav republic was obvious. However, the question is whether

the political goal because of which the sanctions were introduced has been achieved or have the sanctions proved to be useless in this respect, he added.

The U.N. Security Council introduced comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) at the end of May 1992 accusing Yugoslavia of aggression against the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The U.N. Security Council did this ignoring the fact that a civil war among local Moslems, Serbs and Croats has been underway since April 1992 and that there are no Yugoslav Army troops there.

The head of the EU monitoring mission for the former Yugoslavia said it was wrong to think that the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should remain in force until the problems in areas under U.N. Protection (UNPA) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia are solved.

The republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) is a UNPA. The RSK was proclaimed on predominantly Serb populated areas in former Croatia in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia and its attempt to limit civil and national rights of the Serbian people. Although the RSK has been under U.N. protection since spring 1992, the Croatian Army launched three aggressions on it since then in an attempt to forcibly establish its authority there.

The sanctions are linked to a concrete political problem and that is Bosnia-Herzegovina, Yarokostopoulos said and assessed the sanctions would be lifted once the war there was stopped.

Federal

Government Adopts 'Text' of Pact With Croatia

LD1901174094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic, the Federal Yugoslav Government adopted the text of the joint declaration on the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the Republic of Croatia. The declaration also envisages the opening of the two governments' missions—an office of the FRY in Zagreb and an office of the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade, the Federal Information Ministry has disclosed.

"The Federal Government wishes to point out that the signing of this declaration does not mean prejudging any solutions, but only the willingness to resolve all disputed issues in Serbian-Croatian relations in a peaceful way," the announcement says.

"The Federal Government has charged the Foreign Ministry with the task of preparing the decision on the opening of a FRY office in Zagreb and has authorized Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic to sign the joint declaration in Geneva."

Jovanovic Outlines Agreement

LD2101124094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1204 GMT 21 Jan 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 21 (TANJUG)—The signed declaration on the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and Croatia is conducive to peace and the resolution of disputes by political means, but, at the same time, it does not prejudice a political solution for the Serb Krajina, whose future can be decided solely by the Serbian people there, F.R.Y. Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic has stated.

Jovanovic said in an interview published in the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Friday [21 January] that the declaration was the cornerstone of the beginning of a process of the normalization of relations between the F.R.Y. and Croatia, since he said disagreements which emerge at the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia would be resolved only later on in that process.

The Serb Krajina is one of the open issues, and the F.R.Y. can only help resolve the issue by political means and not force, since the future of the Serb Krajina is strictly the affair of the Krajina people, itself.

The joint declaration only strengthens the state of peace and it does not affect any of the centuries-old rights of the Serbian people in the Serb Krajina, Jovanovic said.

Asked about the opening of liaison offices in Belgrade and Zagreb, which Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has publicly interpreted as a diplomatic recognition of Croatia by the F.R.Y., Jovanovic said the liaison offices were a transitional solution on the way of establishing full diplomatic relations, on condition the disputed issues of interest to both countries were first resolved.

It has been agreed that the liaison offices start working on February 15. Serbs in Croatia will be able to seek aid from the F.R.Y. office in Zagreb and to present possible complaints against the actions of Croatian authorities.

Jovanovic underscored the importance of the normalization of relations between the F.R.Y. and Croatia for the Geneva peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that Yugoslavia and Croatia had decided to strengthen peace and, thereby, also the positions of the Serb and Croat sides in the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

The decision of Yugoslavia and Croatia to resolve problems by peaceful means has unmasked the Muslim side, which has anyway identified itself as a side committed strictly to a war option in the peace talks held so far, the Yugoslav foreign minister said in the interview to the Belgrade daily.

Jovanovic on Relations With Hungary

LD1901223794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Report by Szilveszter Varga from Belgrade]

[Text] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky will be received by his Yugoslav counterpart, Vladislav Jovanovic, who said in an interview with MTI that they had been able to preserve minimal mutual trust between Yugoslavia and Hungary. Jovanovic stressed that Hungary had shown a flexible attitude in connection with the application of the sanctions, in spite of the fact that Hungarian representatives at international forums were still objecting to Yugoslavia's participation in the work of these bodies.

Belgrade would like Hungary to change this position. Jovanovic especially held as a grievance the fact that a few weeks ago the Hungarian representative to the UN General Assembly voted in favor of lifting the Bosnian arms embargo.

Talking about the intimidation of the [ethnic] Hungarians in Vojvodina, the Yugoslav foreign minister said that this was suggested to them from beyond the border. Jovanovic added: Fears that are voiced in Hungary from time to time concerning the fate of the Vojvodina Hungarians are absolutely unfounded and unjustified. As a matter of fact, many people from Vojvodina fled because they were influenced by the propaganda that is disseminated in Hungary as well.

Jovanovich said that Yugoslav citizens could return home except those, of course, who had deserted because

until they are granted amnesty, the latter are responsible for what they have done in the eye of the law.

The Yugoslav foreign minister said about the Democratic Community of Hungarians of Vojvodina that it was a recognized organization and the Yugoslav leaders would assess its operation positively as long as it functioned within a constitutional and legal framework.

Serbia

SPO Deputy Criticizes Draskovic's Leadership

AU1901215294 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 93 p 4

[Interview with Slobodan Rakitic, deputy of the Serbian Renewal Movement, by Cvijetin Milivojevic; place and date not given: "We Represent the Origianl Depos"]

[Text] [Milivojevic] Does the open letter of a group of federal deputies of the Democratic Movement of Serbia [Depos] mean that there exist two Depos's—the one that was registered last year, and another, that ran in the recent elections as a coalition?

[Rakitic] We are deputies of the Depos that was founded in 1992. That DEPOS still exists, it still has its Presidency, its Council, its founding documents, and a large membership. That Depos is registered as a political organization, which is the only relevant thing for us.

In our letter we inform the public that we shall work autonomously within the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], keeping in mind that the SPO long ago ceased to be a democratic party, meaning that all the important decisions are made by the chairman of the party alone. The chairman of the SPO alone made the decision that SPO deputies were not to take part in the assembly debate on no confidence in Nikola Sainovic's cabinet, and he alone withdrew that decision again.... For these recent elections Vuk Draskovic formed a new coalition, naming it Depos again, which is false. The Presidency of Depos did not want to protest, fearing a negative impact on the election results of the democratic opposition. Because of the event on 1 June [Draskovic's arrest], because of Draskovic's hospital treatment, and later because of the elections, we, as deputies, did not protest. However, as soon as the elections were over, we decided to end our political abstinence. We consider that the issues of democratic relations within the SPO can no longer be postponed.

That we are right is proven by the fact that our denunciations have not been denied by a single word—the SPO leadership has tried, using already proven rhetoric, to discredit 11 respectable SPO members, among them even several founders of the SPO.

[Milivojevic] So you still feel members of the SPO, do you?

[Rakitic] We still feel SPO members, but we believe that in general terms something must be changed in the opposition parties. It is necessary to legalize factions and trends in the parties. Different opinions are a normal occurrence, just as it is normal that, in global terms, we hold unified views on certain issues. Unfortunately, the way in which the meeting of the Main Board is supposed to be held speaks of a different attitude—the meeting will be a trial to the unlike-minded, who dared oppose the chairman of the SPO. If they expel us from the party, then we shall still call ourselves Depos deputies. I expect that the Depos Presidency and Council will soon meet to solve disputes between the original Depos and the new one that has no continuity. That is to say, we shall be acting as an opposition party, although we are already being attacked in advance for only benefiting the cause of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS].

Furthermore, it is very sad that the party's leadership has ordered telegrams to be sent by SPO regional boards condemning us. In addition, we are receiving threatening telephone calls, and we are being blackmailed, while rumors about a secret meeting between Slobodan Milosevic and myself have already started to circulate. Such paranoia only shows that the question of democracy is an essential question for the democratic opposition. Tomorrow we are holding a meeting at which we shall make a decision regarding our further steps. Yet, if they have already condemned us in advance, I see no reason why we should attend the meeting of the Main Board.

[Milivojevic] Does your open letter have anything to do with the previous attempt by non-partisan people to institutionalize part of Depos?

[Rakitic] Yes, it does. That idea is very close to us, and I believe that such a Depos would be deprived of all those shortcomings that the opposition is suffering from, such as, for instance, the cult of the personality, and suchlike.

[Milivojevic] Have you had any contacts with chairman Draskovic recently?

[Rakitic] Yes, on the eve of the very elections, when he asked me to take part in the work of the campaign committee. However, in view of everything that was happening in the party while Draskovic was in prison, in view of all the accusations against me that have been delivered by the people who were on hunger strike and were behaving like a group of religious fanatics encircled by a rope—I do not see any way to talk to people who are not ready to start a democratic dialogue. All the more since it was Draskovic alone who made the decision on the coalition, as well as the decision on the candidates for assembly deputies.

I know that we shall be linked to the SPS, and the State Security Service, and it will be said that the right moment has not come yet, and so forth. It turns out that one is a good member only when one keeps silent, and supports what the chairman and his closest aides do.

Otherwise one will be told that "the opposite attitude suits the regime." In that case any action is made impossible, which we do not accept.

[Box, page 4]

Belgrade—"One needs only several facts out of many to see that the SPO lacks any democracy. The current SPO differs in no way from the Communist Party from the time of Tito's autocracy. The SPO has become a private firm of the Draskovic family, which employs many relatives of theirs," it is said in the open letter to the Main Board of the SPO, that was written by nine former republican deputies and members of the Main Board of the SPO, among whom are Dr. Aleksandar Taskovic, Dr. Ivan Milutinovic, Dr. Predrag Mijailovic, and author Mladen Markov.

"The staff policy of the party is completely in the hands of Vuk Draskovic and his wife. The basic criterion is the personal affinity and loyalty toward the Draskovics. The bodies that are in charge of the staff policy according to the SPO Statute are regularly bypassed. Also, the financial dealings of the party are far from being under any control, something on which the Main Board has never received any report," the letter states.

Still, Draskovic is receiving many letters of support. Until yesterday, letters were coming in from Nis, Paracin, Decane, Kragujevac, Gora, Vlasotnice, Kladovo, Osecina, Ruma, Pozarevac, and Zajecar....

Seselj Sees Bosnian War Lasting 'Long Time'

LD1901222494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2131 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Belgrade, January 19 (TANJUG)—Leader of the opposition Serbian Radical Party (SRS) Vojislav Seselj said Wednesday [19 January] he was not optimistic as regards solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that he believed the war would last for a long time as the Moslems were preparing for a spring offensive.

Seselj said in a talk with Bulgarian Embassy First Secretary Marjan Raikov that the Bosnian Serbs could not cede more territories to the Bosnian Moslems as they have already 'made too many concessions'.

The Moslems were dissatisfied with one-third of the overall territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina which was supplied mostly by the concessions provided by the Bosnian Serbs. Seselj, who is head of the SRS deputy club in the Federal parliament, also said he urged as close as possible rapprochement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Setting out he did not oppose an independent former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.M.), Seselj stated doubt that its independence was possible because, as he said, of the threats from the neighboring Albania. The Albanian national minority accounts for 21 percent of the overall population of over two million in the F.Y.R.M. the political leaders of the extreme nationalistic parties of ethnic Albanians urged secession of the western part of the F.Y.R.M., where this ethnic group had a marked majority, and joining it to the neighboring Albania.

The issue of F.Y.R.M., according to Seselj, would at any event have to be resolved between Belgrade-Sofia-Athens, which, as set out, could be the only guarantors of independence of the F.Y.R.M.

Daily Lists Candidates for Prime Minister

AU1901173194 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 94 p 5

[Report by I. Popovic: "Three Candidates for Prime Minister"]

[Excerpt] The new People's Assembly of Serbia will be inaugurated on Monday, 24 January. This will also mark the beginning of the process of electing the new republican government. As this date approaches, more and more candidates for this post are being mentioned.

Those who consider themselves to be well informed say that there are three candidates for the head of the Serbian Government on 11 Nemanjina Street.

Milomir Minic, secretary general of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] and director general of a big Serbian firm, ZTP (Rail-Transportation Enterprise), stands a good chance to form a new government. Zoran Arandjelovic, chairman of the previous Serbian Assembly and deputy prime minister before that, does not have any fewer chances of becoming prime minister either. His chances are even greater if one bears in mind that he was the head of the SPS' election campaign team at the last elections—the party that convincingly won more seats than any other party, 123. Milorad Vucelic, director general of the biggest and the most influential media in Serbia, the Radio and Television of Serbia, has recently been mentioned as the third candidate for prime minister.

Regarding other people who were mentioned as candidates from time to time, it appears that they do not stand a chance at all to become the next prime minister of Serbia. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Popovski Receives New UNPROFOR Chief

AU1901205394 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 19 Jan 94

[Unattributed report: "Tellefsen-Popovski Meeting"]

[Text] Macedonian Minister of Defense Vlado Popovski received yesterday the future UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commanding officer for Macedonia Brigadier General Tryggve Tellefsen. The present

UNPROFOR commander, Fin Saermark Tomsen, and the chief-of-staff of the Macedonian Army were also present at the meeting. They all discussed the cooperation between the UN peace keeping forces in Macedonia with the local authorities.

General Tellefsen stated the following for the press: "This meeting was the first one between myself and the Macedonian defense minister and was of great significance for the future stay of UN troops in Macedonia. It is our wish to establish an as close as possible cooperation with the Macedonian Government. My first impressions of Macedonia are excellent. I like the country, and my future job is a great challenge. I believe contacts and cooperation will continue as before. To my knowledge, UNPROFOR forces in Macedonia, led by General Tomsen, have so far made extraordinary good contacts and cooperation. There will be no changes in attitude towards the relations on my part, I even hope to be able to give personal contribution to their further development. According to the plan, I am to stay for a whole year in Macedonia. Having in mind the fact that the overall situation is improving and the fact that establish relations are very good, I believe it will be a pleasant year in your country."

After the talks, Minister Popovski said they had discussed previous results of the peacekeeping mission and agreed they were positive from aspects of the political effects and the operative tasks of the mission. UN troops will stay in Macedonia for a longer period, since the process of calming down of the crisis in former Yugoslavia will last for a long time. They agreed to continue the previous successful cooperation between the Macedonian authorities and the UNPROFOR Command. Working meetings are scheduled for as early as today.

Now that the Republic of Macedonia is internationally recognized, borders are considerably safer and the situation in the country is more stable, Minister Popovski stated.

The official transfer of duties between Generals Tomsen and Tellefsen will take place 25 January.

Montenegro

Authorities Helping Bosnian Serbs Draft Refugees

AU2001171594 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 20 Jan 94

[Text] Podgorica, Jan 20 (AFP)—More than 100 Bosnian Serb refugees in Montenegro have been drafted by Bosnian Serb forces, with the complicity of local authorities and the rump Yugoslav army, an opposition official said Thursday [20 January].

Movement orders addressed to the refugee "reservists" began arriving by mail 10 days ago, Montenegro Social Democratic Party official Milorad Raznjatovic said here. The call-up is being carried out in collaboration with the rump Yugoslav army and the Montenegro police, Raznjatovic said. Movement orders received by one refugee, sent by the "defence ministry" of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb republic, instructed him to report to a Yugoslav army barracks in Tivat, Montenegro, "in order to fulfil his military obligations in the Serbian republic army," he said.

Should the draftee fail to report, he will be "questioned," the orders specify. Bosnian Serb authorities are apparently well-informed about the refugees in Montenegro, Raznjatovic said, as the movement orders were correctly addressed to each refugee. The head of the Montenegro Refugee Commission, Djordje Scepanovic, denied any collaboration with Bosnian Serb authorities. "The forced call-up of refugees by the country they fled from is forbidden by the Geneva Convention on refugees," Scepanovic told AFP.

The Bosnian Serb forces have often called on the refugees to enlist, but "on a voluntary basis, not by call-up orders and warnings," he said. The movement orders call on the refugees to serve in Herzegovina, in southeast Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Bosnian Serb army is fighting to take control of Olovo, a strategic site north of Sarajevo on the route to Tuzla [geographical information as received].

Defense Ministry Abolished Under New Law

LD1901125194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 19 Jan 94

[Text] Podgorica, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The Montenegro Government submitted a written notice today to the republic's assembly to the effect that, following the adoption of a federal law on defense, there is no longer any need for Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic to perform the duty of minister for defense.

When the Montenegrin Government was being formed in March last year, it decided that the prime minister, Milo Djukanovic, would perform the duty of minister for defense until a federal law on defense was passed which, the government explained, would specify constitutional arrangements in this sphere and create conditions for a uniform discharge of this duty at federal level.

Given that the Montenegro Ministry for Defense has been dissolved following the adoption of the federal law in this sphere, the government suggests that the republic's assembly should relieve Deputy Defense Minister Veljko Vukovic of his duty.

Unions Raise Objections to New Economic Program

AU2001092294 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15-16 Jan 94 p 3

[Report by Lj. Mudresa: "Not in Montenegro's Interest"]

[Text] Podgorica—It is certain that the international sanctions will remain in effect for some time. Therefore,

the healthy part of the economy that can produce and sell its products must be stimulated. The new economic program for the revival of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been drafted by a team of experts and it would be good if the federal government shared the responsibility for the program's implementation. This was stated by Vojin Djukanovic, president of Economic Chamber of Montenegro at a meeting with businessmen and trade union leaders in Podgorica yesterday.

However, the majority of businessmen drew attention to a number of unknowns contained in the program. Slobodan Lekovic took the view that the elaborate program did not take into account the interests of Montenegro, above all, those in the maritime economy, tourism, and transportation infrastructure. "Relations between the two federal units—Serbia and Montenegro—in their joint state of Yugoslavia have not been presented fully and clearly," Lekovic said.

Dr. Janko Radulovic expressed the view that reaching a political consensus is a very important factor for the realization of the program. He stressed that the program must be accompanied by a number of operational and legal regulations, adding: "The program is more turned toward the Republic of Serbia and if it has any pretensions toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it must respect the specific characteristics of the Montenegrin economy more."

Danilo Popovic, head of the Montenegrin Confederation of Trade Unions, said that it was not questionable that we needed a program to solve the crisis, but expressed the doubt: "Who will pay for it if it fails. A large number of workers, pensioners, and disabled people, according to statistics, are paupers, because they are surviving on about 10 German marks a month when it is known that the minimum amount of money needed to survive, according to international standards, is about 30 German marks a month. Trade unions will demand wages to be paid in a stable, convertible currency, or the new dinar, or in kind." Popovic said that the Confederation of Trade Unions would today officially inform the public about its objections to the program. This will also be done by the Economic Chamber of Montenegro in its assessment that will be sent to the federal government today.

Kosovo

Albanian Coalition Wins Two Seats in Parliament

AU1901161594 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15-16 Jan 94 p 5

[Report by A. Stanojevic: "In Favor of Full Equality"]

[Excerpts] Vranje—For those who are not so familiar with events in the extreme south of Serbia, the success of the coalition of two predominantly Albanian parties could be a surprise. The Party for Democratic Activity (PDD), and the Democratic Party of Albanians (DPA), both based in Presevo, certainly made a wise move during the pre-election period by forming a coalition. In this way they prevented a further fragmentation of the Albanian electorate in the southern Serbian communes of Presevo, Bujanovac, and Medvedja, where these two parties are active.

Having won almost 30,000 votes, this coalition has secured two seats in the future Serbian parliament. The candidates were Beljulj Jusufi and Tahir Dalipi.

Who in fact are these two parties?

The Party for Democratic Activity is headed by Riza Halimi, president of the Presevo commune. He was born in 1947 and graduated at the Scientific Mathematical Faculty. During the ideological and political purge of 1989 he was suspended from education. He later worked in the Dzevdet Doda Grammar School in Pristina. He had been a leading member of the party before he was elected president.

The head of the Democratic Party of Albanians is Zecir Fazliu, biology teacher in the 15 May Grammar School in Presevo. He was born in the village of Zujnice in the Presevo commune in 1940. He left the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1969. He had been the director of the school in which he is now working, but was replaced before the end of his term of office.

According to Halimi, the Party for Democratic Activity strives for a multi-party democratic system in which all citizens, as legal and political subjects, should be equal regardless of their nationality and confession, and in which the freedom and rights of people would be guaranteed by the Constitution and laws. [passage omitted]

The program of the Democratic Party of Albanians promotes the full, true, and actual equality of Albanians in spheres of life where they live and work. At the same time, the party will work for the emancipation of women, the equality of man and women, the freedom of religion and worshiping, the promotion of one's own culture, national history, literature, folklore, and historical traditions. [passage omitted]

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